Military History of British India

H.S. Bhatia

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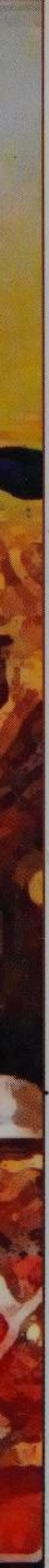

The Book

The growth of British military and political power in India has perhaps no parallel in history. Arriving by sea as traders, the Britishers penetrated in the political arena through their institutionalised military forces. Starting from the first ship *Hector* under Captain William Hawkins which touched Surat in 1607, almost all the English ships which followed were in reality of the type of battleships and brought cannon and other warlike stores supplied by the British Board of Ordnance for their security *en route* and protection of their factories in India.

British rule in India has been essentially a military rule. Naval power founded the British Empire in India, Army power developed and consolidated it. Giving evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee (1832) Major General Sir John Malcolm said : "The (Indian) Empire has been acquired and must be maintained by the sword. The military plans for the government of our Eastern Empire must ever be entitled to primary consideration. The local army of India, but above all, the Native branch should always be preserved in a condition of efficiency and attachment. . . . Our means of preserving and improving our possessions through the operation of our civil institutions depend on our wise and politic exercise of that military power on which the whole fabric rests".

What was this military fabric, evolved by the Britishers and inherited by Free India, is detailed, in its various aspects in the following pages.

Contents of this book include : Key to Important Terms; Chronology of Important Events; Historical Background; Evolution of the Armed Forces; Presidency Armies : Bengal, Madras, Bombay; India : Its Heritage and its Army; European and Native Troops; The Military Adventurers; Administration of Army; British War Campaigns in India; 1857 Uprising and Early Mutinies; Arsenals and Manufactories; British Military Justice in India; India and the World Wars; The Departure; Appendices.

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Preface

The growth of British military and political power in India has perhaps no parallel in history. Arriving by sea as traders, the Britishers penetrated in the political arena through their institutionalised military forces. Starting from the first ship *Hector* under Captain William Hawkins which touched Surat in 1607, almost all the English ships which followed were in reality of the type of battleships and brought cannon and other warlike stores supplied by the British Board of Ordnance for their security *en route* and protection of their factories in India.

The first settlements of the English East India Company, professed to be purely mercantile had almost from their beginnings a few European artillerymen who formed a portion of the guard maintained for the protection of these factories. Soon after with a bolder policy, a number of Artillery pieces were kept ready in the fortifications built along the coastline. Gradually the East India Company got involved in the fighting with European adversaries and the native chiefs and the problem of regular supplies of arms, transport, food, clothing and other warlike stores to the company's troops arose. The organisation and administration of the expanding army became an urgent important factor for securing victories in the battles. The first vital step taken by the Company in this regard was the formation of regular companies of artillery, ordnance service and establishment of ammunition manufactories in 1748. The second step was taken by Lieutenant General Sir John Clavering by planning and establishing a Board of Ordnance on 8 April 1775, the foundation of the Military Board which controlled military expenditure and regulated better distribution of military stores.

The first Indian sepoy levies employed by the Company had meagre discipline and were armed with matchlocks, bows and arrows, spears and swords. There was, however, no dearth of good fighting material from amongst the Indians. As time went on these sepoys were drilled on European lines, disciplined, armed with muskets, equipped with latest weapons and knit into first class fighting units. The men came to acquire and admire idea of drill and discipline and personal and military qualities, these impart to the trainees.

In early days when the Britishers fancied themselves more dependent on Indians they were courteous and considerate to them. But this was not the case with the native soldiers. From the very beginning, no Indian was

given a military post of high responsibility and military power was kept exclusively by the Britishers in their own hands.

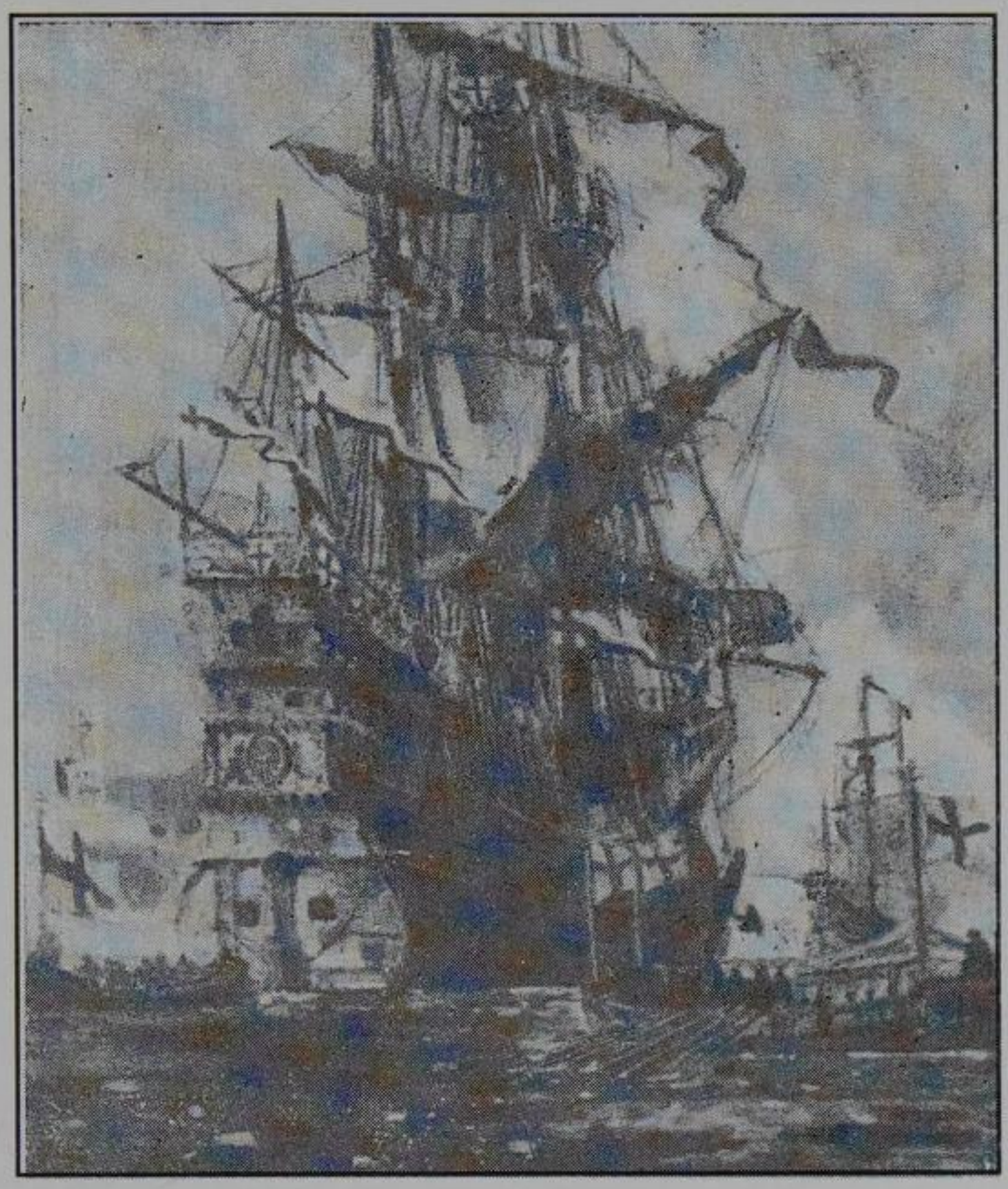
The English were very lucky in having some great commanders and administrators in India. Welleseley, Frederick Roberts, Lord Kitchener, William Birdwood, Cassels, Lake and Auchinleck achieved great successes. When the Britishers were comparatively weak, the native armies fought on their side against their own countrymen. English diplomacy and stratagem often won the day.

British rule in India has been essentially a military rule. Naval power founded the British Empire in India, Army power developed and consolidated it. Giving evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee (1832) Major General Sir John Malcolm said: "The (Indian) Empire has been acquired and must be maintained by the sword. The military plans for the government of our Eastern Empire must ever be intitled to primary consideration. The local army of India, but above all, the Native branch should always be preserved in a condition of efficiency and attachment. . . . Our means of preserving and improving our possessions through the operation of our civil institutions depend on our wise and politic exercise of that military power on which the whole fabric rests."

What was this military fabric, evolved by the Britishers and inherited by Free India, is detailed, in its various aspects in the following pages. In compiling this account I was helped by Colonel Pyara Lal AVSM, Secretary, United Service Institute of India and Editor, U.S.I. Journal, for which I am thankful to him.

New Delhi H.S. BHATIA

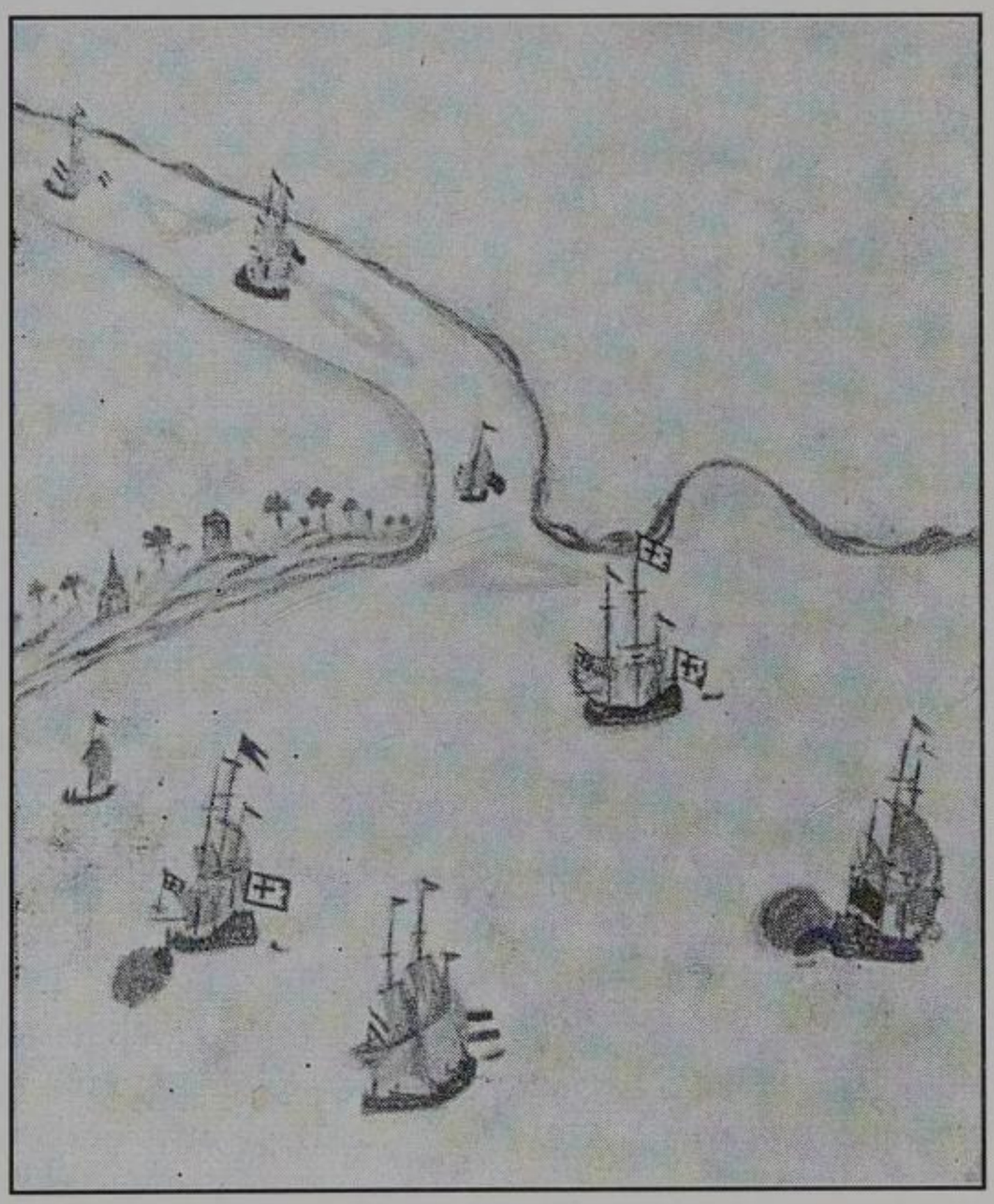
THE FIRST TO ARRIVE



1. BRITISH MERCHANT-*CUM*-BATTLE SHIP

A British Merchant cum Battle Ship of early seventeenth century. These ships used to be equipped with guns and other warlike stores by the British Board of Ordnance.

(see Chapter 3)



2. OLD CITY OF SURAT

The old City of Surat with swallow and the river **(Barlow's Journal)**. *The first English ship* **Hector** *under Captain Hawkins of the East India Company anchored here in 1607.*

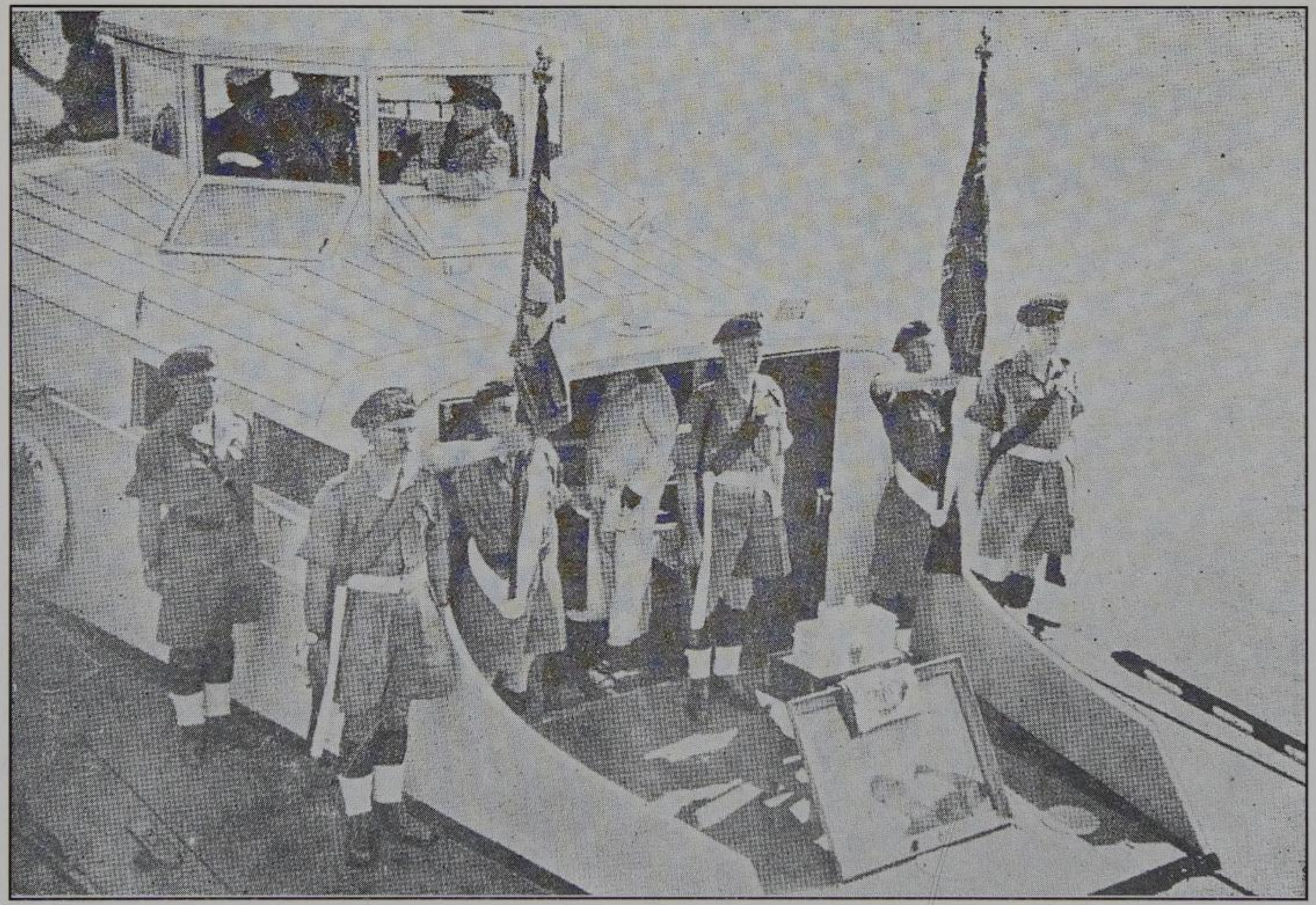
(see Chapter 3)

3. FIRST COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

Major General Stringer Lawrence, who became the first Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Madras Presidency troops in 1748 as a Major. Later he was Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Indian troops. Some call him "Father" of the Indian Army. (see Chapter 4)

4. NATIVE SOLDIERS

"There was no dearth of good fighting material from amongst the Indians. These sepoys were drilled on European lines, disciplined, armed with muskets, equipped with latest weapons and knit into first class fighting units." (see Chapter 5)



The last British troops leaving India on 28th Feburary, 1948. (see Chapter 15)

1

Key to Important Terms

Accoutrements—The belts, which support the arms, pouch, or pouches, of a soldier; Military dress and arms.

Action—An engagement or battle between opposing forces; or some memorable act done by an officer, soldier or detachment.

Adawlut—A court of justice. Under the Muslim governments were four main courts.

1. **Nizamat Adawlut**—The Supreme Court of Criminal Justice, nominally presided over by the Nazim, or Viceroy of the province.
2. **Diwani Adawlut**—The Civil Court of the Diwan, the chief officer in charge of the revenue of the principality.
3. **Faujdari Adawlut**—The Court of the Faujdar or chief of the magistracy and police of a district; the subordinate, or District Criminal Court.
4. **Adawlut-al-Qazi**—The Court of the Qazi, the chief judge of a town or district in civil causes and questions regarding Islam.

Under the British Government these courts were continued until 1793; when the judicial and revenue departments were separated and Zila and Provincial Courts established, subordinate to one Supreme Adawlut in each presidency, distinguished as the *Sadar Adawlut*, or a Court of Final Decision, sub-divided into the Sadr Diwani Adawlut, (High Court of Civil Jurisdiction), Sadr Nizamat or Faujdari Adawlut (High Court of Criminal Justice).

Adawlut Akbar, (Court of Appeal).

Adawlut Asghar, (inferior subordinate Court of Justice).

This system ended in 1862 on the introduction of the Indian Penal Code and the institution of the High Courts of Judiciary.

Adjutant—An officer appointed to each regiment, to assist the Commanding Officer in the execution of all details of duty and discipline.

Adjutant General—One of the chief staff officers of the army through whom all orders are promulgated, and to whom all reports are sent for the information of the C-in-C. The duties of the adjutant general relate to the discipline, military training and general efficiency of the army.

Administration, Military—Relates to the system observed in all governments for the guidance, direction and management of military affairs in each country.

Aerial—Pertaining to aircraft or air navigation; performed in or from aircraft.

Ahimsa—The Hindu doctrine of non-violence.

Aid-de-camp—A member of the personal staff of a high-ranking commander or general or flag officer, acting as confidential assistant of the latter.

Ain-i-Akbari—A compendium of documents of Akbar's time (1556-1605) illustrating the Emperor's activities in each departments of the administration including military.

Aligol—Irregular foot-soldiers in the Mahratta service without discipline or regular arms.

Altamgha—A royal grant under the seal of some of the former native princes of Hindustan, and recognized by the British Government.

Ammunition—Means charges of powder for ordnance and small arms. Includes all kinds of projectiles used in the service and the various appliances for igniting the charges, etc.

Arm—Signifies any particular description or class of troops. The artillery, the cavalry, the infantry, and the engineers, are such an arm of the service.

Armament—A force equipped for war, naval or military. A name also given to the guns of a fortress, coast or ship.

Arms—Instruments of different forms and natures for attack and defence.

Army—An organised and disciplined force of armed men raised for military service and employed for purposes of military defence.

Arquebus—An ancient handgun, which was cocked with a wheel.

Arrack—A strong drink or distilled spirit.

Arsenal—A place of receipt and issue of guns, small arms and all other warlike stores.

Arthashastra—A Hindu text on political administration, especially that traditionally attributed to Kautilya, a famous minister of Emperor Chandragupta Maurya.

Articles of War—Rules and Regulations made by the Sovereign or the officer to whom such power is delegated, for the better government of his forces at home and abroad.

Artillery—The name given to ordnance of all natures, and the arm of service to which it is attached.

Bahadur—A hero, a warrior; under the Mughals, a title of honour given to the nobles of the court, usually associated with other titles. At the Delhi court the usual gradation of titles was (ascending) (1) Bahadur, (2) Bahadur Jang, (3) Bahadur-ud-Daulah, and (4) Bahadur-ul-Mulk. Under the British it was given to persons of respectable station and to distinguished native officers, i.e. Khan Sahib, Sardar Bahadur.

Bakhshi—A paymaster under the Mughals, whose duty it was to keep accounts of payments on military tenures, such as those of Mansabdars and Jagirdars.

Bargir—A trooper of irregular cavalry mounted on a horse which is supplied by the State or the chief he serves.

Barracks—A building or a group of buildings used as living quarters for military personnel.

Batta—Additional pay or allowance to public servants or soldiers employed on special duties. It grew to be a constant allowance of European officers in India, and the question of the right to it on several occasions created great agitation under the East India Company.

Battalion—The tactical unit of infantry to be efficiently handled and commanded in action by one officer, its strength being approximately a thousand men.

Battle—Armed conflict with the enemy.

Battleship—A navalship carrying armour and naval guns afloat.

Belligerent—A nation in a state of war; a person engaged in warfare.

Brigade Major—An officer appointed to aid the brigadier in carrying out the duties of his brigade.

Broad Arrow—The ancient mark of Crown property. It was originally used only on Admirality stores but later applied to Ordnance and other war-like stores.

Cadet—A student being educated at a military college or school.

Camp-followers—The sutlers, petty tradesmen, servants and all others who accompany an army in the field.

Cannon—A collective name for guns, mortars and howitzers; A piece of artillery used to throw balls and other projectiles.

Cat-o-nine-tails—A whip with nine knotted cords, occasionally used in former days for the punishment of soldiers convicted of heinous crimes.

Choultry—A resting-place, a hall used in the early Company days in the South India; a place of business, or court house for military trials.

Civilian—A term which came into use in the 1760's as a designation of the convenanted European servants of the East India Company, and was later appropriated to describe the Indian Civil Servants. The members of the Company's Civil Service were classified for the first five years as writers, then as factors, then in the 9th year as junior merchants and thereafter as senior merchants. These names emerged from the early commercial character of the company's transactions, and were abolished in 1833.

Coast (the)—Used to signify the Madras or Coromandel coast.

Collector—Chief British administrative officer of an Indian district or

zila, especially charged with the collection of revenue and with magisterial powers. First introduced by Warren Hastings, these posts under the British were mostly held by members of the Indian Civil Service.

Colonel, Colonel Commandant—An old British custom followed in the Indian Army. Each infantry and cavalry regiment is allowed to have a Colonel of the Regiment while each corps has a Colonel Commandant, usually a high ranking officer, his position is comparable to 'god father'.

Company—The East India Company; in the army a body of men generally about 100 forming one of the units of the battalion composed often companies.

Congress, The Indian National—Founded in 1885 by a group of Indians and English. At first an intellectuals' organization, and after 1919 enjoying mass support till March 1977 when routed at Parliamentary polls.

Court-martial—A military tribunal appointed under the provisions of the Code of military law for the investigation and punishment of all offences committed by officers and soldiers. Summary court martial was introduced in 1880 in lieu of field general court martial and consisted of three or two officers.

Darbar (Durbar)—A court, an audience or levee, or executive government of an Indian State.

District—The zila or administrative unit of British India, at the head of which stood the collector and district magistrate.

Diwani—The title of Diwan, or office of Diwani, carrying the right to receive the revenue-collections of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, was conferred upon the East India Company by the nominal emperor, Shah Alam, in 1765. The word, denoting the head officer of any revenue or financial department, was retained under the British Government. In the 19th century the word meant the Civil Courts.

Dragoons—Soldiers trained originally to serve indifferently on foot or horse and thereby enabled on an emergency to act as cavalry or infantry. Marshal Brissac, in 1600, appears to have raised this kind of horsemen.

Duffadar—A non-commissioned officer in the native cavalry, corresponding with the rank of a sergeant.

Enfield Rifle—It takes its name from the small arm factory at Enfield, England. It was originally a muzzle-loading arm, but was subsequently converted into a breech-loader.

Ensign—Formerly the name and rank given in the British army to the junior grade of a commissioned officer in a regiment of infantry.

Equipment—Signifies the arms and accoutrements and all such articles as are worn or carried by the soldiers.

Factory—A trading establishment or ware-house of the E.I. Company.

Farman—A mandate, an order, a patent.

Fauzdar, Fauzdari—In the 14th century a military officer, corresponding roughly to general of division, and directly under the general-in-chief command. In the 16th-18th centuries an officer-in-charge of the general administration of a portion of province.

Fugleman—A soldier formerly placed in front of the right wing of the regiment to conduct the manual, platoon or sword exercise.

Gentoo—(Derived from the Portuguese 'gentio', a gentile or Heathen). A Hindu in contradistinction from the Muslims; a native of India.

Governor, Governor-General—The title of Governor in the British possessions in India goes back to the first charter of Charles II. In 1780 the custom began of selecting governors for the senior provinces of Bengal, Madras and Bombay from the English political world. In 1773 the Governor of Bengal, Warren Hastings, was made Governor-General and a decade later the Governor-General was given effective powers 'to superintend, direct and control' all British possessions in India. As the British conquest of India proceeded other governorships were created until, at the time of the passing of the India Act of 1935, there were eleven provinces in British India each with its governor. From 1858, when the government of India passed from the Company to the Crown, the Governor-General assumed also the title of Viceroy.

Havaldar (Havildar)—One holding an office of trust, especially used by Mahrattas in ministerial matters. Under the British a sepoy non-commissioned officer corresponding to sergeant.

Howitzer—A piece of ordnance for throwing shells. Howitzers are shorter, lighter, and have less metal in them than smooth bore guns of the same calibre.

I.C.S.—The Indian Civil Service, which in 1858 succeeded the Company's convenanted service. It formed the main administrative service in India and its members provided most of the collectors, judges and heads of departments in both central and provincial governments; and also political agents and residents.

Interloper—One who traded outside the service of East India Company, which had a charter of monopoly.

Jamadar—In the Indian army the title of the second rank of Indian officer in a company of sepoys, the subedar being the first; Now designated as naib-subedar.

Khallasi—An Indian sailor. This class of men came chiefly from Chitagong area. Also employed in large numbers in Arsenals, bordering on the seaside.

Kotwal—City governor, chief officer of police and a magistrate for a city or town; Commander of a fort.

Kshatriya—The name of the second or military and regal group of castes, or a member of it; the warrior, the king.

Laboratory—A department of an arsenal for the manufacture and examination of ammunition and combustible stores.

Lascar—In general equivalent to Khallasi viz. (1) an inferior class of artillery-man (gun-lascar), (2) a tent-pitcher, and (3) a sailor.

Mahabharata—A great Indian War Epic. One of the world's greatest philosophic poems, the Bhagavadgita (Song of the Lord), is related to it.

Mansab—A military title conferred by the Mughals, regulated by the

supposed number of horse, the holder could bring into the field varying from ten to ten thousand.

Mansabdar—A noble holding a mansab.

Matchlock—Name formerly given to a small arm or musket. The earliest muskets were fired by means of a piece of slow-match applied by the hand to the touch hold. Later in the 14th century the priming powder was ignited by the match lighted by the trigger of the lock.

Matross—A gunner's mate in the early organisation of British artillery.

Naval Terms—Afloat=at sea; Bravo Zulu=well done; Cabins=officers' rooms; Galley=kitchen; Jimmy=lieutenant; Old man=captain; Plumber= engineer officer; Victuals=foodstuff.

Orderly Room—The court of the commanding officer, where charges brought against the man of his regiment are investigated, and sentence passed.

Pandaris—Originally bodies of irregular horse allowed to attach themselves to Mughal armies, employed especially in collecting forage and permitted, in lieu of pay, to plunder. Later in the early 19th century, organized associations of mounted marauders in Central India, finally suppressed by the British in 1817.

Peon—A term (taken from the Portuguese Peao) commonly used by Europeans in the sense of 'a foot soldier', and inferior police official; sometimes a courier. In modern sense, a messenger.

Peshwa—Originally the chief minister of the Mahratta power; in the 18th century becoming prince of an independent Mahratta state. The Peshwa's power ceased with the surrender of Baji Rao to the British in 1817.

Poligar—A class of semi-feudal petty chieftains in south India (Tamil palaiyakkaran).

Presidency (and President)—The chief of a principal East India Company factory was styled 'President' in the 17th century and the area of his jurisdiction the Presidency.

Risaladar (Rissaldar)—A native officer commanding a troop of horse.

Seedee (Sidi)—Descendants of African natives in West India. They provided naval officers for the Mughal power on the coast of Gujarat.

Senapati—In ancient India, the commander-in-chief.

Sergeant Major—The senior non-commissioned officer in a regiment. He being the right man of the adjutant, his duties were very important.

Shah-Bandar—Harbour master, and usually head of the customs. A Muslim port-official.

Sibandi—Irregular soldiery.

Siege Train—The men, guns and material collected together for the conduct of a siege.

Silladar—A horse-soldier who provides his own horse and arms.

Sipahi (Sepoy)—Indian name of soldier.

Sipah-salar—A commander-in-chief (Mughal period).

Subahdar (Subedar)—Viceroy; governor of a province. A local commandant. Under the British the chief native officer of a company of sepoys.

Subadar Major—The Indian commandant of a native regiment of infantry.

Topasses—A name used in the 17th and 18th centuries for dark-skinned and half-caste claimants of Portuguese descent and Christian profession. Worked at times in the Company gun-rooms.

Train—In a military sense, implies the ordnance, carriages, ammunition, and in fact all the apparatus and implements of war which are required for an army in the field.

Zila (Zillah)—A division, a district. Under the British the area under the jurisdiction of a collector, or of a collector and magistrate combined, or in the Punjab of a deputy commissioner.

2

Chronology of Important Events

1600 A Charter granted by Queen Elizabeth to the Merchants of London who formed "The Company of Merchants of London trading unto the East Indies," (better known as the East India Company).

1607 First English ship *Hector* under Captain Hawkins of the E.I. Company reaches Surat; First English factory at Surat.

1612 First battle fought by the British (in Indian waters) with Portuguese; Indian Marine Service as the East India Company's Marine formed.

1615 Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from James I to Jahangir arrives at Agra.

1639 Raja of Chandragiri grants permission to Francis Day Chief of the Armegaon factory to build a fort at Madraspatnam.

1641 A general assault by the Dutch on Malacca causes the final downfall of the Portuguese there.

1664 A French East India Company, "Compagnie des Indes", formed; Sivaji attacks and plunders Surat.

1668 East India Company takes over Bombay from the Crown.

1683 Mutiny of European Officers at Bombay.

1708 East India Company makes the three Presidencies autonomous.

1731 Swedish India Company is set on foot by King Frederick.

1748 Regular Companies of Artillery formed in the Presidencies on the European lines; Ordnance Service established; Major Stringer Lawrence appointed Commander-in-Chief of Company's forces in Madras and later of India; Military Storekeeper appointed for the first time.

1754 Arrival of the first Royal Troops in India; First Articles of War enacted.

1757 Clives re-organises troops; Indian Battalions formed e.g. *Lal Pultan*.

1758 Partaking of plunder or booty by Company's troops legalized by Crown.

1761 Battle of Plassey; Third Battle of Panipat; Mahrattas defeated.

1773 Reduction of Tanjore; Regulating Act; The Government of Bengal Presidency becomes Supreme Government; Sir John Clavering, the first Lieutenant General, as Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces; First re-numbering of India units by Clavering.

1774 Warren Hastings, first Governor-General of Bengal; Clive commits suicide; First Supreme Court established at Fort William, Calcutta.

1786 Earl (Marquess) Cornwallis as Governor-General; Military Board replaces Board of Ordnance (1775); Battle of Baksar.

1796 First general re-organisation of the Native Army.

1799 Fourth and the last Mysore War; Fall of Tippu Sultan.

1801 Gun-carriage factory at Cossipore; Supreme Court instituted at Madras.

i802 Military College established at Baraset, Bengal.

1809 Company's treaty with Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

1813 Earl of Moira (Marquess of Hastings) as GG; Third Regulating Act.

1817 Pindari War; Third (last) Mahratta War; First Sudder Bazar at Barrackpore.

1824 Burmese War; Siege of Bhurtpur; General re-organisation of Army in India.

1833 Flogging stops in Indian Army; Regulating Act.

1834 Lord William Cavendish Bentinck as first Governor General of India.

1842 Assault of Jellalabad; Ghazni stormed; Afgan War; Capture of Kabul.

1849 Battle of Chillianwala and Gujrat; Annexation of Punjab.

1855 Presidency Military Boards abolished.

1857 Great Uprising; First Victoria Cross awarded in India.

1858 Queen Victoria assumes direct the Government of India; Viscount (Earl) Canning as first Viceroy and Governor General; Trial of Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar by a Military Tribunal; Life imprisonment awarded.

1862 Earl of Elgin and Rincardine I as Governor General and Viceroy; Bahadur Shah passes away in exile at Rangoon; High Courts created.

1874 Lord Salisbury becomes Secretary of State for India; East India Company ends; Special Ordnance Commission appointed.

1877 Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India at a great Durbar at Delhi.

1879 An Army Organisation Commission assembled by Lord Lytton.

1886 Burma annexed to India; Grand military review held by Lord Dufferin at Delhi—35,000 troops present.

1895 Presidency Armies abolished; 'Army of India' divided into 4 Commands.

1911 Capital shifted from Calcutta to Delhi; Durbar; First military air flight.

1914 World War I starts; Indian Flying School opened.

1918 World War I ends.

1919 Massacre of Jallianwala Baug; Martial Law in Punjab.

1921 Earl of Reading as GG and Viceroy; Reorganisation of Army commences.

1927 The Indian National Congress declares Complete Independence as its goal; The first R.A.F. display (at Delhi).

1939 Poland invaded; Start of World War II.

1943 Earl Wavel as GG and Viceroy.

1944 Germany, Burma, Phillipines, Korea, Italy, China and Japan recognise Azad Hind Fauj started by Subhas Bose in 1941.

1945 Germany defeated; Japan surrenders; Azad Hind Fauj personnel's trial in Red Fort, Delhi.

1946 Air, Navy and Police forces rebel.

1947 India attains Independence; Last British troops start leaving for home.

3

Historical Background

ARRIVAL OF THE BRITISH

A charter was granted by Queen Elizabeth on the 31st December, 1600 to "the Governor and Company of the Merchants of London trading into East Indies,"[1] by which the Company was empowered to trade with countries and parts of Asia, Africa and America. . . " The Company's first venture[2] consisted of five ships which left the shores of England in April 1601, reached upto Sumatra and returned to England in September 1603 with 100 per cent profits. The second voyage under the command of Captain Henry Middleton was undertaken in March 1604 and returned in May 1606. During the third voyage undertaken in 1607 under the command of Captain Keeling, the Englishmen traded with the Island of Socotra, at the Gulf of Aden. One of the ships named *Hector* equipped with guns and militarised crew[3] under Captain Hawkins got separated from the rest of the fleet and touched at Surat. The Portuguese were already settled at Surat and opposed the new-comers. The *Hector* under the command of its first officer sailed for Bantam, leaving Hawkins to establish the company's first factory in India.[4] Subsequently a number of similar voyages were undertaken by the Englishmen to India, who set up trading factories[5] at various places. These factories were guarded by English soldiers, armed factors and locally recruited guards.

A—THE MEN

In England, soldiers in those days were usually ill-paid, ill-clothed and ill-provided, hence to get recruits especially for overseas service was a difficult task. Generally, recruits were acquired by press-gangs which were employed by the East India Company under the authority of the Crown. No boy belonging to a respectable family would voluntarily come forth to list

in the army which was mostly composed of debtors, criminals, convicts, and prisoners released before completion of their sentences on giving an undertaking to join the army and also derelicts and bad characters. Foreign service was particularly abhored by the soldiers and the civilians who were unwilling to go abroad and desertion was rife on that account. As such men were pressed into service, or kidnapped or forcibly conveyed on ship board when in a state of intoxication. However, spirit of adventure and laterly lure of riches in trade with foreign lands prompted some to volunteer for the Companys service. Once these recruits reached India they were at the complete mercy of their masters who treated them harshly and firmly and even for minor crimes of stealing petty stores and insubordination, were given exemplary punishments of iron bars or building and repairing roads along with the native labour.

B—THE WEAPONS

It was during this period that gun powder was brought into effective use as a means of discharging war projectiles. An urgent sense of extensive and better utilisation of gun powder and improvement of fire-arms, which was to bring a complete change in the methods and accessories of warfare, prevailed in all the European countries. English people had already commenced using the compound for military purposes. Cannons (ordnance) first made of wood and wrapped with iron wires or bands, followed by those of wrought metals and cast cannons appeared on the war scenes. Similarly, small arms became a weapon of military importance in those days. All these weapons of war were known as 'Ordnance' and the agency responsible to procure, store and issue these weapons to the soldiers, as 'Ordnance Department' with slight changes in its name from time to time.[6]

In England from the earliest days the Church used to be centre of village life. Manufacturers of arms, helmets, etc. brought the articles in the churchyard for sale to the soldiers. As the organisation of armies developed, the Kings appointed Marshals to supervise the sales of arms and equipments required by the army. The King also appointed an officer styled Attiliator or Keeper of the King's armoury who was also the treasurer and accountant for military expenditure, and responsible for a number of engines of war such as battering rams, slings and catapults. The earliest mention of those officers occur in the year 1299 and from this date successive Attiliators were appointed at the Tower, for making and providing military implements to the Crown's forces. With the increase in the number of troops and advent of cannon this office acquired greater importance and in 1414 Nicholas Merbury was appointed to be "Master of Our Works, Engines, Cannon and other kinds of Ordnance for War", and the title Attiliator abolished so far Ordnance Office was concerned.[7]

In England the Ordnance Office which assumed much importance in the reign of Henry VII was responsible for outfitting and arming all ships of war through their agents, the Brethern of Trinity House, an ancient guild

of mariners. In addition, Company's ships which sailed from England for trading with the East Indies and India and the soldiers who guarded those ships and the factors were similarly equipped with arms and stores supplied from the Ordnance Office whose head was Master of Ordnance. Although armed and equipped with ordnance stores, no regular unit of King's troops was billitted to the Company's ships trading with India.

At the close of sixteenth century, England along with other European countries built the merchant ships in such manner so that these could be utilised as war ships in case of war. At the beginning of seventeenth century ordnance or the big gun which revolutionized both the ship itself and the warfare became the most important sea and land weapon and for the next about three hundred years it remained the weapon of naval and land warfare par excellence till it was rivalled by mine, torpedo and aerial bomb in the twentieth century. When the Englishmen started visiting the Indian coasts in 1607 onwards, their merchant ships and warships structurally were the same thing and all the ships were furnished from the King's arsenal with the fighting weapons and other ordnance stores of those days. These weapons and stores were utilised by the English traders in driving out their Portuguese, Dutch and French rivals and for themselves establishing first the 'Factories' and then the 'Empire' on the Indian sub-continent. The three ships in the sixth voyage set forth on 5 May 1610 by the East India Company to Surat under Sir Henry Middleton General, namely the *Trades-Increase* of one thousand tons, the *Pepper-Corn* of two hundred and fifty and the *Darling* of ninety tons had cannons, muskets, spikes, swords, gun powder and a variety of ordnance stores on them. Lt. General Nicholas Dounton Captain of the *Pepper-Corn* wrote in his journal that, "At the anchoring right against Tamarin the General (*Trades-Increase*)[8] shot off five pieces of Ordnance, the *Pepper-Corn* three, and the *Darling* one".

Notes and References

1. Thomas Stephens was the first Englishman who visited the western shores of India in 1577. Educated at New College, Oxford and known as a Jesuit he reached Goa in October that year and he lived there for many years. A letter which he wrote to his father, a London merchant, soon after his arrival, is printed in Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages. It not only contains a particular and interesting description of his perilous navigation round the Cape, but many sage remarks are made, in quite a mercantile spirit, on the state of Portuguese trade, of which he evidently desires that his countrymen should obtain a share. Probably Stephen's advices were the strongest inducements which London merchants had been offered to embark in Indian speculations; and certainly they began from this period to fit out expeditions for the East and formed themselves into a company to carry out trade. The English Jesuit was a patriot, and true friend and well-wisher of his countrymen, who within the space of a few years found their way to India. *The English in Western India.*
2. The Merchants of London in the year 1600, having joined together, and made a stock of seventy-two thousand Pounds, to be employed in ships and Merchandizes, for the Discovery of Trade in the East Indies, they bought and fitted out four large ships, (1) The *Dragon*, of six hundred tons, and two

hundred and two men, Captain James Lancaster-General, (2) The Hector, of three hundred Tons and one hundred and eight men, Captain John Middleton—Vice Admiral. (3) The *Ascension*, of two hundred and sixty two and thirty two men, in which was William Brand—Chief Governor. (4) The *Susan* of 204 Tons and eighty four men in which was John Hayward—Captain. There were like-wise in each Ship three Merchanis, who were to succeed each other in case of death. To these the *Guest* a ship of one hundred and thirty tons were added as a Victualler. . . . And because no great action can well be carried on without an absolute authority, the Queen granted the General a Commission of Martial Law. *New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. 1.

3. The powers granted them were purely commercial. Dealing with armed races, however, they were necessarily allowed to introduce into their merchant ships the discipline of war, though as a means of safety. Horace St. John's *History of the British Conquests in India*, Vol. 1.
4. Captain Hawkins, of the ship *Hector*, tells us that at Surat, he was kindly received by the natives "after their barbarous manner" but was much harrassed by the Portuguese, who, however, permitted him to land his iron and lead, with some treasure. *The English in Western India*.

   Horace St. John in his *History of the British Conquests in India*, Vol. 1 writes: In 1607, Hawkins visited Surat, near the western base of the peninsula, and was accorded the privilege of trading, with his own ship only. The Portuguese received him with insults, as an interloper in their commercial field; but he proceeded to Agra, then the residence of Mogul, who was the most powerful prince in Hindustan. Jehangir welcomed him, and gave him permission to open a traffic. Bruce's *Annals of East India Company*.

   Every vessel in those days had to report to *Shahbunder* an officer at each port all over the Indian seas, who was the chief authority with whom foreign traders and ship-masters had to transact, Henry Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*.
5. Trading establishments or ware-houses, where lived or worked trading agents known as factors, and not places of manufacture.
6. 'Ordnance' was spelled variously as Ordnances, Ordinance, Thordynance and Thaurdinance. Charles James in his book *An Universal Military Dictionary* (1816) defines Ordnance as "a name given to all that concerns artillery or engineering."
7. According to Charles James, the Commander-in-Chief was originally called Master-General of the Ordnance; and the next Officer, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance instead of artillery. He further adds: "This post is of much greater antiquity in France than in England; for history informs us, that the first Master-in-Chief of all the artillery was appointed in 1477 under Louis the XIth, while Guillaume de Dourdon was appointed Master of the Ordnance in the Louvre under Philip IV in 1291". *Aide-Memoire to the Military Science* refers to Hydn's *Dictionary of Dates* and states that "the first Master of the Ordnance was created in Henry the Eight's reign (1509-1547) and probably the Tower of London was the original depot of arms and military stores. Kane's *List of Officers of the Royal Artillery* gives Robert, Earl of Essex as the first Master-General in 1596. Major General A. Forbes in his book *A History of the Ordnance Services* mentions Nicholas Merbury as the first such officer in 1414 in England.
8. Sir Henry Middleton, commander of sixth voyage, with his flagship 'The Traders Increase', a 1000 tons vessel, reached Surat in September 1611. He fought with Portuguese and then started depredations on the Indian ships. In the skirmishes the loss of the 'Traders Increase' caused the death of Middleton.

4

Evolution of the Armed Forces

A—THE BEGINNINGS

The military history of British India dates back to the year 1607 when the English ship *Hector* and militarised men of the East India Company under Captain Hawkins, first arrived at Surat[1] (India) and commenced their trade. Generally this history falls into four periods—under the East India Company 1607-1708 A.D., the Presidency[2] Armies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay 1709-1894, the United Indian Army 1895-1920, and finally till 1947 when India gained independence.

In addition to the European soldiers and armed factors who arrived in India in ships from England, natives were enrolled as guards for the various factories of the East India Company at Surat, Masulipatam, Armegaon, Madras, Hooghly and Balasore in the first half of the 17th century for purposes of protection of merchandise and for defence. The military necessity for these guards were progressively felt and they were better armed, trained and disciplined. In the early days of the Company, its military element consisted solely of the officers and crews of the ships and the factors.[3] Those factors like soldiers were imparted military training during the long and dangerous voyages to India which enabled them to handle arms, put up an organised defence and function like combatants and when necessary arose to enlist themselves as regular soldiers. They handled arms and ammunition in times of emergency and were like reserves for a second line defence. This provided them a good opportunity to gain military training, experience and discipline which eventually led some to attain high military positions. Lord Clive who later occupied the highest position in the Company's military ranks started his career as a writer.[4]

The Army

The foundation of the Indian Army was laid with the 'ensien and thirty-men' of Bengal, the 'peons'[5] of the Madras factories commencing 1624 and the small holding force of Bombay in 1662. In the early years of Company's trade and till the factories were fortified, the armouries were located in the vessels. The peons and other native guards wore their own dress, and had their own weapons.

In 1634, permission was given, by a *firman* of the Emperor Shah Jahan, to the Company to establish factories in Bengal with a fort at Piplee. Initially in Bengal the forces were limited to an ensign and 30 European soldiers the equivalent to the traditional corporal's guard of the British Empire—reinforced by 'Gunner' and his 'Crew'. In 1686, an expedition consisting of ten ships of seventy to twelve guns each was sent out from England against the Nawab of Bengal. In 1696, Charles Eyre, the Company's agent was given permission to defend his factory by fortification and Fort William was constructed in 1702 and completed in 1717. This Fort, thereafter, remained for two hundred years the seat of the government and the Headquarters of the army in India.

In 1625, the factory at Masulipatam was shifted to Armegaon where fortifications[6] were allowed to be erected by the Company for the first time in India. The garrison of Armegaon in September 1628 consisted of 12 pieces of ordnance and 28 soldiers, who were trained as infantry and to work the guns in time of need. In 1640 the factory was removed to Madras-patanam and then to the newly constructed Fort St. George. In 1644, 30 recruits and a considerable amount of ordnance and military stores were landed from England and 20 more recruits in the following year. During 1662-63 a large number of African, Portuguese and natives were engaged as labourers and trained in the use of arms. In 1690-91, a company of European artillery and a troop of horse, constituted a part of the garrison of Fort St. George and in the same years Fort St. David, near Cuddalore, was built.

The Bombay island was handed over to the Company by King Charles II on 17th March 1668 on an yearly rent of £10 in gold. The King's troops stationed at Bombay accepted their conversion to the service of the Company. The garrison consisted of 75 officers, 139 non-commissioned officers and men (all Europeans) and 54 Topasses besides 2 gunners and their 21 pieces of cannon. Certain increases were made in the Company's forces, notably in 1683, when the Bombay garrison was supplemented by the enrolment of 2 companies of Rajputs. Each company consisted of 100 men, commanded by their own Rajput officers; and this small force may be regarded as the first beginning of the Indian Army. But according to another version:

"Technically—although not in spirit—the Indian Army can be traced back to the native retainers of the East India Company, who guarded its merchandise, and sometimes (but not always) increased the prestige of its officials. But its real ancestors are the sepoys of South India who fought

under Clive and Wellesley, and the races who were once masters of Hindustan, and who afterwards served in the British ranks as volunteers."[7]

In 1675 orders were sent out to Surat, the seat of Company's government, that the civil servants[8] were to apply themselves to acquiring a knowledge of military discipline so that if there was any sudden attack, or if they were found better qualified for military duties than for mercantile work, they might receive commissions and have the pay of military officers.

In 1698 a new Company of Merchants known as English Company received its charter. The two Companies became bitter rivals but in 1708 they were merged into the "United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies" better known as the East India Company.

The Navy

Experience gained during the third voyage compelled the Company to have a strong armed marine force to cope with the depredations of the Portuguese and the Dutch and the pirates on the Indian coasts. The Indian Marine Service was formed in 1612 which from 1612 to 1686 was known as the East India Company's Marine, from 1686 to 1830 as the Bombay Marine, from 1830 to 1863 as the Indian Navy, from 1863 to 1877 again as the Bombay Marine, from 1877 to 1892 as Her Majesty's Indian Marine and from 1892 to 1947 as the Royal Indian Marine.

In 1612, the Marine Force consisted of 4 war-ships namely the 'Dragon', the 'Hoseander', the 'James' and the 'Solomon' under the command of Captain Thomas Best. The first action was fought off Surat with the Portuguese having a fleet of 4 galleons and 21 armed vessels. After 3 days bitter fighting, the English emerged victorious. For three years Captain Best was engaged in almost continuous warfare. Credit goes to Captain Best for providing strong naval cover to the first factory of the English Company established at Surat.

As the trade and factories spread, the English strengthened their sea power by adding more warships to the Company's Marine Service. In that period it was a continuous sea warfare between the English and their adversaries, the Portuguese and the Dutch and the Arab, Malabar and Konkani pirates.

In 1668 when the East India Company took over Bombay from the Crown, Captain Young of the Marine was appointed as Deputy Governor. Mr. Warwick Pett, who was sent from England with a full supply of Marine stores and equipment for ship-building, built two small brigantines in 1670. In 1686 the seat of the Company's Government was transferred from Surat to Bombay. The Marine stores were shifted in the Bombay Castle, the Company's ships being anchored in Bombay Harbour. The Marine force became officially known as the Bombay Marine. An officer was regularly appointed each year as Admiral. The force at that time consisted of one ship of 32 guns, 4 grab ships mounting from 20 to 28 guns and 20 grabs and gallivats, carrying from 5 to 12 guns.

B—THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

Presidency Armies

During the Company's Times

One of the first measures taken in 1708 by the new United Company was the definite formation of three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, each absolute within its own limits. The President[9] of each was also Commander-in-Chief of the military forces of the Presidency and was responsible only to the Directors at home.[10] Consequently the armies of the three Presidencies became distinct and separate from each other.[11]

By then the English had established themselves in three chief fortified places, the island of Bombay, Fort St. George, Madras, and Fort William at Calcutta. In the course of nearly 100 years, the mere unorganised handful of miscellaneous and ill-disciplined Europeans have been converted into a force consisting of small but organised military units. The presidential armies of those days were composed of Europeans recruited from England or collected locally, of half-caste Goanese Topasses and of Indian sepoys. The latter were mainly armed with their own native weapons, wore their own native dress and were commanded by their native officers.

Military arms, equipment and stores in large quantities continued to be supplied by the Board of Ordnance at England to the Company's troops and also to the native purchasers. "In 1658, Cromwell granted to a Mr. Bolt license to export to India 3 mortars and 2,20,000 rounds of shells for Aurungzeb", the Company at the same time exporting large quantities of ordance stores to counteract Mr. Bolt's proceedings. Sir John Child once thought it highly advisable to cultivate the friendship of the Mughal's arch-enemy Shivaji and even supply him with ammunition, because he considered such friendship politically and commercially desirable.[12]

The Company supplied men, and military stores to the Mughals and local chiefs against the Dutch and the Portuguese but not the big guns.[13] Ordnance or big guns were however already being manufactured and positioned at various fortified places in India as is evident from the writing of early English travellers namely William Finch (1608-11), Nicholos Withington (1612-16) and Edward Terry (1616-19).[14]

With increase in their trade the Company gradually increased its armies in all the three Presidencies. By 1741, the Bombay army alone besides some 700 so-called sepoys, who attended on the civil servants of the Company in the capacity of peons, had a regular regiment consisting of 26 British officers, 166 warrant and non-commissioned officers, 1,276 rank and file and 27 followers.

In 1744 war broke out between England and France. The Company started thinking seriously to have a military organization in India to safeguard its trading interests and possessions. As fresh European soldiers were not available for service, the Company recruited, equipped and trained a large number of Indians to fight its battles against the French who had also a fairly big army of natives under their command.

Some far-reaching measures were adopted in 1748.[15] The armies were reorganised on European lines. Each Presidency got one company of artillery consisting of 5 British officers and 110 other ranks. A regular Ordnance Service for supply of military stores to the troops was also organised. Major Stringer Lawrence was named the first Commander-in-Chief of all the Company's forces in India both European and Indian. He took various steps to improve the organisation of the British Indian Army. (See Appendix II, Revolutionary Regulations).

The war with France again broke out and in May 1754 at the request of Madras Government for help, Bombay despatched 3 companies of sepoys and 450 men of the European regiment. Simultaneously the first Royal troops including 39th Foot from England also arrived in Madras.

Shortly before the battle of Plassey, Clive reorganised[16] the Indian troops by giving them the shape of regular battalions. These battalions were commanded by the British officers and were equipped on the European lines. The first battalion organised on these lines was known as the Lal Pultan[17] and was composed of 3 British Officers (1 captain, 2 subalterns), several British non-commissioned officers (1 sergeant-major and several sergeants), 42 Indian officers (1 commandant, 1 adjutant, 10 subedars and 30 jemadars), and 800 Indian rank and file, 50 havildars, 40 naiks, 10 buglers and 700 sepoys). The battalion was divided into ten companies. Gradually many more battalions were raised on this pattern. Clive first introduced the British officers into Indian army units.

Sir John Clavering,[18] the first Lt. Gen. as Commander-in-Chief of the East India Company's forces in India during 1774-77, introduced some more reforms such as complete renumbering of the sepoy battalions, first organised by Lord Robert Clive during 1757. In 1775 in Bengal, 21 regular battalions and one Parganna Battalion (the 24th) existed and all these were numbered consecutively by brigades. This facilitated in determining areas of supply and made smooth work of the British Indian Ordnance Board and the Arsenals and Magazines under it.

In 1796 the Indian Army was reorganised and the Bengal Army was the first to be so reformed. The infantry and cavalry were separated and their officers were placed on separate general lists. Infantry regiments were formed by linking existing battalions and amalgamating half battalions. There were British and Indian officers and the commanding officer was a Colonel. Each battalion had 2 grenadier and 8 infantry companies with a total strength of 1,600 sepoys. Similar were the improvements in the Madras and Bombay armies. In addition to infantry, cavalry and artillery regiments, they had a marine battalion each.

As the British authority became predominant, further expansion was considered necessary and in the process the Presidency armies were increased. In 1796 the Company had 17,956 Europeans and 84,232 Natives in its armies which increased to 30,423 Europeans and 246,125 Indians in 1825 and 36,409 Europeans and 187,067 Natives in 1830.

In 1824, the Indian infantry regiments, which had been formed by

linking two battalions, were broken up again into single battalion regiments. In the same year, the number of the cavalry regiments was increased, partly by using regular regiments and partly by raising irregular troops. The irregular regiments were raised on the *"Silladar"*[19] system. Under this system the individual soldier supplied and maintained his horse, clothing, equipment and arms (other than rifle), receiving in return a higher rate of pay than the non-*Silladar* soldier, whose needs were furnished by the Government.

In course of time, the East India Company acquired more territories and for their protection it increased the strength of the Army. The total strength of the Army on the eve of the Great Uprising (1857) was 38,000 Europeans, 276 field guns and 348,000 Indian troops with 248 field guns.

Presidency Armies Under the Crown

With the assumption of direct government of India by the Crown in November, 1858 and as a result of the Great Uprising, the Bengal Army ceased to exist but the Madras and Bombay Armies, the Hyderabad Contingent and the Punjab Frontier Force, who remained faithful, were not abolished though some organisational changes were incorporated.

In 1861 the reorganisation of the Indian troops was undertaken. Some cavalry and infantry units were disbanded. The surpluses were transferred to the police and in other employment. Indian artillery was abolished except for a few units which remained loyal during the Uprising.

By transferring the late Company's European Troops to the service of the Crown, distinction between "Royal Troops" and the "Company's European Troops" which had existed for more than 100 years disappeared. These plans were finally implemented in 1863. Thus after the reorganisation, the total strength of the Army was 205,000 of which 65,000 were British troops.

In 1861 a Staff Corps was formed for officering the newly reorganised Indian Army. It could draw its officers from both British and Indian officers. Henceforth all future appointments in the Army were to be made from the British Army and not from the Company's exclusive military college.

The Afghan War of 1878-80 brought about some more important changes in the Army. The Army Organisation Commission of 1879 was assembled by Lord Lytton. The most important recommendation of the Commission was virtually to abolish the Presidency Armies. As a result of the Commission's recommendations four cavalry and eighteen infantry regiments were reduced. Their strength was, however, increased to 550 for cavalry and 832 for infantry regiments.

Other important changes, some already taken place, were the centralisation of the military accounts and audit department under one Accountant General; amalgamation of the Remount Department under one Central Head in 1876; amalgamation of the three Ordnance Departments under one Central Head in 1884; partial reorganisation of the transport service and framing of commissariat regulations applicable to the whole of

India; non-enlistment of certain low-caste people whose military performance had been unsatisfactory, reorganisation and adjustments in the class composition of the regiments and finally the institution of Pioneer Corps and Army Hospital Corps.

Between 1885-87 Russian encroachment in Afghanistan prompted some further increases. Cavalry, infantry, mountain artillery and pioneers were all increased and every battalion strength was raised to 912 sepoys. These were completed by 1887.

In 1886, the Indian Infantry regiments were linked in army groups. Each group consisted of two or three battalions and was given a permanent regiment centre, where one of the battalions of the group was always stationed. A soldier of one battalion was made liable to serve in other battalions of the group. In the same year, a reserve force was created for the first time in the Indian Army. The Presidency Armies were abolished with effect from the 1st April, 1895.

The Navy

Consequent on the transfer of the seat of Government and the Marine headquarters from Surat to Bombay in 1686, the marine matters began to improve. A regular supply of officers, men and equipment was kept up from England through the ships arriving from Europe to match the superior maritime forces of the Portuguese, Dutch and French and for protection against the attacks of pirates including the Arabian fleet which in 1715, consisted of one ship of 74 guns, two of 60, one of 50 and eighteen small ships from 32 to 12 guns each, and some "trankies" and rowing vessels of from 4 to 8 guns each.

In April 1717, the first important action, though unsuccessful, was fought by the Bombay Marine against Angaria's forces while attempting to capture the Castle Gheriah, the stronghold of Angaria.

In 1722 the Bombay Marine made a joint expedition with the Portuguese, the latter providing the land forces, against Alibeg, the marine force consisting of 3 ships under Commodore Mathews. Clement Dowing, a Lieutenant then in the service of the Bombay Marine, writes that the expedition failed due to the cowardice and treachery of Portuguese with many English officers and men killed or wounded. He adds further that after the failure of the attack, "the Commodore came on shore in a violent rage, flew at the Portuguese General and thrust his cane in his mouth, and treated the Viceroy not much better."

The English suffered more reverses and set-backs in the following years. Desertions amongst the European seamen became frequent. In 1724 an order was passed that the seamen should be kept two months in arrears of pay. A scheme for pension for the widows of officers and seamen who had performed distinguished service, was also approved.

In 1735 Lavji Nusserwanji Wadia, was brought to Bombay and started the work after establishing the Government Dockyard. The Bombay Marine now consisted of the 'Victoria' (Frigate), the 'Neptune' (Grab), the

'Prince of Wales', 'King George', 'Princess Caroline' and 'Rose' (Galleys), the 'Salamander' (Bomb Ketch) and several gallivats and boats.

During the years 1739-41 several additions were made to the fleet, amongst others two grabs, 90 feet long by the keel, 30 feet by the beam and 12 feet 8 inches in the hold to carry 20 guns (10 in a line) besides her prow guns. One sea going ship 90 feet by the keel, 30 ft. by the beam and 14½ feet in the hold, to carry 11 guns in a line. Thus by 1741 the strength of the marine consisted of one ship of 44 guns, four ships of 28 guns, four of 18 guns and twenty large gallivats, employing nearly 100 officers and from 1700 to 2000 men. Because of peace prevailing in the following year, the post of Admiral was abolished and the number of officers in reduced establishment, consisted of 1 Superintendent, 8 Commanders, one of whom was styled Commodore, 3 First Lieutenants, 4 Second Lieutenants, 4 Third Officers and 6 Masters of Gallivats, besides Midshipmen.

In 1751 Captain James while conveying a fleet of 70 coasters from Bombay, was confronted with Angaria's fleet, fought and succeeded in saving his convoy and on his return to Bombay was appointed Commodore and Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Marine.

In early 1756 a Royal Squadron under Vice-Admiral Watson visited Bombay. It was decided to despatch a combined naval and military expedition against Tulaji Angaria's stronghold Vijayadurg by first attacking Gheriah. The combined expedition consisted of warships of Royal Navy, Bombay Marine and a land force of European and Topasses soldiers under Colonel (afterwards Lord) Clive. After three days bitter fighting the attack proved successful.

During the later part of the 18th century great improvements were made in the Bombay Dockyard, more graving docks were built, and the yard was fitted with every facility for building and repairing ships, Mr. Manackjee Lowjee being the chief builder. Ships built at Bombay were strong, handsome and well finished and compared better than those built in Europe. The 'Bombay' and the 'Swallow' were two such examples.

For a period of about 70 years till 1829, a Captain of the Bombay Marine was appointed Deputy of the Company, he flew the Company's colours at the peak of his flagship, but carried Mughal's flag at the main.

In 1766 the Company introduced a complete set of orders regarding discipline for the use of Commanders, which constituted the first body of regulations ever published for the Marine Service. (Bombay Government Consultations, 10 March, 1766). Later in 1771 pay of the seamen was formally regulated and the force was reduced and reorganised. In 1772 the first surveying expedition which went around and explored the coasts of Mekran, Sind and Kathiawar and a portion of Arabia and Persia was undertaken by the Bombay Marine. This later developed into Marine Survey of India responsible for scientific delineating the coast of India, Burma and the Persian Gulf.

In December 1775 a combined military and naval expedition was despatched from Bombay for the reduction of Mahratta stronghold of

Thana. In 1780 the ships of Bombay Marine fought and co-operated in the battles against Hyder Ali. In 1782, the 'Bombay' squadron acted in concert with General Mathews on the Malabar coast and helped to capture Rajamandrug, Merju, Kundapur, Annanpur and Mangalore. In brief, there was hardly a naval engagement in Indian waters during the later half of the 18th century in which the Bombay Marine did not play a part. It rendered much help in co-operation with the ships of the Royal Navy at the capture of Pondicherry, Trincomalee, Jafnapatam and Colombo.

In August 1798 the new regulations for the service were issued by the Directors. Relative rank with the officers in the Army, retiring pension for all officers, prohibition of private trade and the following duties were laid down: (1) The protection of trade, (2) Suppression of piracy and general duties as vessels of war, (3) Conveying transport and carrying troops if necessary, (4) The prosecution of Maritime surveys in the East. A civilian Superintendent was appointed at the head of the service. He was assisted by Master Attendant and the Commodore and two senior Captains. All formed a Marine Board to administer the service. The Superintendent was to rank next to Members of Council, the Commodore next junior to the Master Attendant to rank with a Colonel in the Army, Senior Captain with Lt. Colonel, Junior Captain with Major, First Lieutenant with Captain, Second Lieutenant with Lieutenant In 1802 the personnel of the 'Bombay' consisted of the Superintendent, the Master Attendant, Commodore, Senior Captain, 13 Captains, 33 First Lieutenants, 21 Second Lieutentants and 37 Volunteers. In 1801, several vessels of the Bombay Marine had participated in co-operation with the Royal Navy, in the Egyptian Campaign.

In 1808 Commodore Hayes was appointed Deputy Master Attendant and Secretary of the newly constituted Marine Board in Bengal and finally became Master Attendant. A Marine Survey Department was also established in Bengal in the same year.

In 1810 the Bombay Marine helped in the capture of the Island of Mauritius and the conquest of Java.

In 1814 a table of precedence was fixed, the Superintendent of Marine coming immediately after Generals and Flag Officers (above the rank of Major General). The early part of the 19th century saw great activity in ship building in the Bombay dockyard under Jamsetjee Bomanjee; twenty-two war ships were built for the Royal Navy in the Bombay dockyard between the years 1800 and 1840.

In the years 1820-24 many alterations and improvements were made in the conditions of service, prospects and uniforms of officers.

After the change of denomination of the service to that of Indian Navy in 1830, further changes were made in the uniform. The appointment of master attendant was abolished and a Controller of the Dockyard appointed instead. The period between 1834 and 1839 was again a period of change for the service due to the reduction of sail and the introduction of steam as the chief propelling power.

"In 1832, Marine establishment at Calcutta has no superior for utility

and skill. The pilot vessels were schooner-rigged and adapted to the tempetuous weather which was so frequent off the sand heads. Officers were European who faced the difficult and dangerous navigation of the Hoogly. There came up light houses, floating light ships, buoys, etc. and telegraphic communication between Kedgeree and Calcutta.

At Madras, the Maritime was of course trifling in comparison.

At Bombay there is warlike Marine kept up for the protection of British commerce which consists of about one frigate, four 18-gun ships, six 10-gun corveties and brigs, two armed steamers and surveying ships, etc. The number of officers—12 Capts, 14 Commanders, 46 Lts., 71 Junior Officers, 4 Warrant Officers to each vessel and 500 European seamen. During the European wars, the Indian Navy distinguished itself in the battles."[20]

It was decided in 1838 to occupy Afghanistan. A squadron of the Indian Navy was employed to blockade the mouth of the Indus river and ships were also used for the conveyance of troops and stores. In the battle of Miani and capture of Sind in 1843, the ships took a leading part.

When Aden was captured in 1837 and made a portion of the British Empire, the Indian Navy took a prominent part in the operations.

The title of Superintendent was changed to that of Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Navy by a Government order issued on 4th April, 1848.

In 1849 the broad pennant of the Indian Navy, which had been the same as that of the Royal Navy was changed, and henceforth the broad pennant of the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Navy was to be a red flag with a yellow lion and crown in the upper canton nearest the mast. The following 10 years was a transition period from sail to steam as the chief motive power of the vessels.

From 1849 to 1856 the service attained high efficiency under its distinguished officers. In 1854 it was decided to amalgamate the small uncovenanted Bengal Marine with the Indian Navy.

The Indian Navy did not participate to any considerable extent in suppressing the Great Uprising of 1857. However an Indian Naval Brigade consisting of 78 officers and 1740 men was formed and fought in U.P., Dacca and Assam. The first Victoria Cross awarded to an Indian Naval personnel was for bravery shown on land.

The Navy: 1858-1895

On assuming governance by the Crown, the Indian Navy was abolished on 30 April, 1863 and the defence of the Indian seas devolved on the Admiralty. The old organisation of the Marine, but in a non-combatant role, for the performance of local naval service, was revived and designated as the Bombay and Bengal Marines.

In the year 1877 the service was re-named Her Majesty's Indian Marine. The naval force was divided into the Eastern and Western Divisions with a base at Calcutta and Bombay respectively. The Indian Marine played a major role in the Egyptian Campaigns of 1882-85, the

Third Burmese War of 1885 and the Chin Lushai Expedition in Burma in 1889. Seven torpedo boats in 1889 and 2 torpedo gunboats in 1892 were added to the Indian Marine.

C—UNIFICATION, DEVELOPMENT AND PARTITION

The Army

In 1895 with effect from the 1st April, the separate Presidency Armies were abolished and the unified Indian Army was divided into four commands, viz., "Punjab, Bengal, Madras (including Burma) and Bombay (including Aden.), each under a Lieutenant-General who was responsible for the administration as well as for the training of troops in his command". These commands were divided into many 1st and 2nd class Districts.

In 1902, Lord Kitchener was appointed as Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army. He carried out many important changes to improve the organisation and redistribution of the Indian Army. He abolished the Indian Staff Corps and from that time onwards all officers belonged to a single corps—the Indian Army. He also abolished the Madras Command in 1904 and the army was divided into three commands—Northern, Eastern and Western, obliterating the names of Presidency armies by finally separating Aden, Burma, Sind and Baluchistan from the Presidency areas to which, for so long, they had belonged.

In 1907, the command system was abolished and "India was divided into two armies—Northern and Southern each under a general officer, who was charged with command, inspection and training but was not accorded any administrative responsibility. These armies were divided into nine divisions which were directly under the Army Headquarter for administrative purposes.

Before the World War I (1914-18), the whole Indian Army was divided into two groups—Field Army and Internal Security troops. The former consisted of Army Troops, nine divisions and eight cavalry brigades. The latter consisted of three independent frontier brigades and those troops which were allotted to prevent internal uprising.

On the 1st August 1914, the total strength of the fighting services of the Indian Army in all ranks was 155,423. By the time of the armistice this had risen to approximately 573,484 which included large Indian Armies serving in Palestine, Egypt, Iraq, Salonika and other foreign lands.

Post-War Reorganisation in the Army

Following the experience gained in the War (1914-18), a reorganisation of the Army in India commenced in 1921. Intermingling of British and Indian ranks in the same unit, making King's Commissioned Indian Officers eligible to replace British officers, formation of artillery training centres, linking of Indian cavalry regiments together in groups, introduction of the system of four commands viz. Northern, Southern,

Eastern and Western with a considerable delegation both of administrative and financial authority to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of each command, a better balance between combatant and ancillary services, higher standard of equipment and reduction in the numbers of combatants were the main features of this reorganisation. A relatively small army, efficient, well-equipped, mobile and capable of large expansion in war, was considered of greater value than an army large in numbers but deficient in essential ancillary services and up-to-date equipment.

"The 1921 reorganisation introduced a proper regimental system into the infantry (save Gurkha regiments which had all consisted of two battalions since 1908). An average of six battalions were regimented, one of which was to be a training battalion to supply and train recruits for the active battalions which in war would proceed on service. Training Battalions were numbered the 10th, the intervening numbers being left for new active or field units in war. Further reductions in the infantry principally the old Carnatic regiments turned into the 3rd Madras Regiment in 1921 were effected in 1923; the Pioneer Regiments suffered a similar fate in 1932. In 1939, there were eighteen regiments of infantry, each of an average of six battalions, and ten Gurkha regiments of two battalions each.

Two cavalry regiments and six infantry battalions were selected for complete Indianization of the officer cadre in 1923, a further cavalry regiment and six infantry units, as well as components of the engineers, and signals being added to the scheme in 1933.

The Indian Military Academy for the training of Indian gentlemen as officers independently of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, was established in 1931.

The Indian Artillery, absent from the Army since the Great Uprising, save for certain mountain batteries forming part of the Royal Artillery, was revived as Field Artillery in 1935.

In support of the regular army, battalions of Indian Territorial Force started in 1920, comprised of Auxiliary Force, descendants of the old Indian Volunteers, Europeans or persons of mixed descent in case of emergency and Forces of Indian Princes".

Second World War

The above important and few other changes and improvements continued to be effected till 1939 when another war loomed large. On 1st October that year the total strength of the Indian land forces was only 352,213 in India and overseas. This included regular troops of the Indian army 205,038; British troops, 63,469; and miscellaneous troops, including Indian States Forces etc., 83,706. In addition, the Royal Navy and the Indian Air Force consisted of a strength of 2,012 and 1,628, only respectively. The necessity of putting the Indian Armed Forces into the various theatres of war, led to their rapid expansion. On 1st September, 1945 the Army stood at the figure of 2,647,017 including 240,615 of the British Army and 21,633 of the Burma Army. During the six years of war Indanisation made substantial progress in all the three services.

Since V-J Day and upto the end of August 1946, 882,011 men and women were demobilised from the Indian Army.

More than 900,000 personnel of all ranks were demobilised from the three services upto the August, 1946.

Armed Forces Partitioned

In view of the impending partition of the Country, the allotment to India and Pakistan of Infantry regiments of the Indian Army was approved by the Partition Council, and announced by G.H.Q.

The governing principle in allotting these units was their composition. The majority of regiments already largely composed of Muslim soldiers-ware allotted to Pakistan, and the rest to India.

As far as practicable, in order to avoid unnecessarily moving individual soldiers from the Dominion which they would eventually serve, Muslim subunits of predominantly Hindu units were ordered to move to the Dominion of India, remained in Pakistan. Similarly, Hindu sub-units remained in India. These sub-units eventually joined an infantry regiment allotted to their own Dominion. (See Appendix III, *Public Opinion on World War II and the Partition*).

Here is the list of Infantry Regiments allotted to India and Pakistan:

India

2 Punjab Regiment, Madras Regiment, Indian Grenadiers, Mahratta Light Infantry, Rajputana Rifles, Rajput Regiment, Jat Regiment, Sikh Regiment, Dogra Regiment, Royal Garhwal Rifles, Kumaon Regiment, Assam Regiment, Sikh Light Infantry, Bihar Regiment and Mahar Regiment.

Pakistan

1 Punjab Regiment, 8 Punjab Regiment, Baluch Regiment, Frontier Force Regiment, Frontier Force Rifles, 14 Punjab Regiment, 15 Punjab Regiment and 16 Punjab Regiment.

UNITS OF ARMOURED CORPS, ARTILLERY AND ENGINEERS

The names of the units of the Armoured Corps, Artillery and Engineers of the Indian Army allotted to India and Pakistan as approved by the Partition Council were announced by General Headquarters on July 15, 1947.

The governing principle in allotting these units had been their class composition as in the case of Infantry Regiments. Units containing a large proportion of Muslim soliders were allotted to Pakistan and the rest to India.

The number of units is not, in all cases, a correct index to the proportion allotted to the two Dominions. Some units are smaller than others and many were to be reorganised later after the voluntary transfer of individuals took place.

Here is the list of units allotted to India and Pakistan

Armoured Corps Units—India

1 Horse (Skinners Horse).
2 Royal Lancers (Gardeners Horse).
3 Cavalry
4 Horse (Hodsons Horse).
7 Cavalry
8 Cavalry (King George V's Own Light Cavalry).
9 Royal Horse (The Royal Deccan Horse).
14 Horse (The Scinde Horse).
16 Cavalry
17 Horse (The Poona Horse).
18 Cavalry (King Edward VII's Own Cavalry). Central India Horse.

Armoured Corps Units—Pakistan

5 Horse (Probyns Horse).
6 Lancers (Duke of Connaught's Own Lancers).
10 Guides Cavalry.
13 Lancers (Duke of Connaught's Own Lancers).
19 Lancers (King George V's Own Lancers).
11 Cavalry (Prince Albert Victor's Own Cavalry).

Artillery Regiments—India

1 Field (SP) Regiment. 2 Field (SP) Regiment. 7 Field Regiment. 8 Field Regiment. 9 Para Field Regiment. 11 Field Regiment. 13 Field Regiment. 16 Field Regiment. 17 Para Field Regiment. 20 Survey Regiment (less Bty.). 22 Mountain Regiment. 24 Mountain Regiment. 26 Light Anti-Aircraft Regiment. 27 Light Anti-Aircraft Regiment. 34 Anti-Tank (SP) Regiment. 35 Anti-Tank Regiment. 36 Anti-Tank Regiment. 37 Anti-Tank Regiment. 40 Medium Regiment.

Artillery Regiments—Pakistan

3 Field Regiment. 4 Field (SP) Regiment. 5 Field Regiment. One Bty. 20 Survey Regiment. 21 Mountain Regiment. 18 Heavy Anti-Aircraft Regiment. 25 Light Anti-Aircraft Regiment. 33 Anti-Tank Regiment. 38 Medium Regiment.

Engineer Units—India

H.Q. Engineering Group. 624 H.Q. Engineering Group. 625 H.Q. Engineering Group. 5 H.Q. Engineering Group. 1 H.Q. Engineering Group. 17 H.Q. Engineering Group. 629 H.Q. Engineering Group. 401 H.Q. Engineering Group. 623 H.Q. Engineering Group. 9 Field Company. 10 Field Company. 12 Field Company. 13 Field Company. 14 Field Company.

65 Field Company. 15 Field Company. 362 Field Company. 433 Field Company. I Field Company. 7 Field Company. 3 Field Company. 69 Field Company. 74 Field Company. 21 Field Company. 20 Field Company, 18 Field Company. 22 Field Company. 99 Field Company. 19 Field Company. 32 Aslt Field Company. 37 Aslt Field Company. 101 Aslt Field Company. 36 Para Field Company. 411 Para Field Company. 11 Field Park Company. 44 Field Park Company. 39 Field Park Company. 682 Field Park Company. 41 Field Park Company. 40 Field Park Company. 40 Airborne Park Company. 52 Construction Company. 6 Construction Company. 49 Construction Company. 16 Workshop & Park Company. 344 Workshop & Park Company. 618 Electrical & Mechanical Company. 8 Electrical & Mechanical Company. 614 (664) H.Q. Plant Company. 653 H.Q. Plant Company. 755 Plant Platoon. 757 Plant Platoon. 758 Plant Platoon. 753 Plant Platoon. 709 Plant Platoon. 749 Plant Platoon. 320 Well-Boring Platoon. 53 Printing Section. 35 Printing Section. 86 Maint Platoon. 87 Maint Platoon.

Engineer Units—Pakistan

474 H.Q. Engineering Brigade. 2 H.Q. Engineering Group. 622 H.Q. Engineering Group. 4 H.Q. Engineering Group. 2 Field Company. 5 Field Company. 4 Field Company. 68 Field Company. 71 Field Company. 17 Field Company. 98 Field Company. 91 Field Company. 70 Field Company. 31 Aslt Field Company. 33 Para Field Company. 43 Field Park Company. 322 Field Park Company. 42 Field Park Company. 67 Construction Company. 345 Workshop and Park Company. 619 Electrical and Mechanical Coy. 605 Electrical and Mechanical Coy. 609 Electrical and Mechanical Coy. 656 H.Q. Plant Company. 663 H.Q. Plant Company. 727 Plant Platoon. 715 Plant Platoon. 717 Plant Platoon. 718 Plant Platoon. 750 Plant Platoon. 317 Well-Boring Platoon. 319 Well-Boring Platoon. 51 Printing Section. 88 Maintenance Platoon.

THE NAVY

The Royal Indian Marine took an active part in the Suakin Expeditions in East Africa in 1896, the Boer War, the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 and the Somaliland Expedition in 1902-4 and acquitted itself with distinction.

When the First World War broke out, the Indian Marine had 4 Troopships, 3 other big ships, 2 Survey ships and 3 River steamers. Further expansion took place during the war period. Several ships were added and the strength of officers rose to 500 and that of sailors to 13000. All the ships of the Indian Marine were allowed to fly the Blue Ensign. The Marine participated in almost every expedition throughout the hostilities with credit.

In the post-war depression years, the strength of the ships as well as the personnel was much reduced. In 1925, the Rawlison Committee made the following recommendations: The Royal Indian Marine should be

constituted as a combatant force; the naval force should be redesignated as the Royal Indian Navy; the initial strength of the force should consist of 4 sloops, 2 patrol craft, 4 trawlers, 2 survey ships and a depot ship; and the service should be commanded by a Rear Admiral on the active list of the Royal Navy. On 11 November 1928 the White Ensign' replacing the Blue Ensign was hoisted on all the ships of the Indian Marine and the proposed reorganisation commenced.

In 1934, the Indian Navy (Discipline) Act of 1934 was enacted and the Royal Indian Navy was formally inaugurated at Bombay on 2 October, 1934. Till the eve of the Second World War, the RIN was not expanded. But its expansion during the World War was phenomenal.

The Womens' Royal Indian Naval Service, primarily employed in the Communication Branch of the Service, was formed in 1943. The WRINS had 275 officers and 813 ratings by the end of the war. The service was disbanded in 1947.

After the Second World War ended, an exceptional event took place in the RIN. Ratings of H.M.I.S. TALWAR mutinied and the tidings soon spread to many other establishment of the service. A timely political intervention and administrative tact however saved the situation.

Consequent on the partition of the country on 15 August, 1947, two-thirds of the undivided fleet and associated assets came to India. The following was eventually the division of the ships of the Royal Indian Navy:

India

Sloops: Sutlej, Jumna, Kistna, Cauvery, *Frigates:* Tir, Kukri, *Mine-sweepers;* Orissa, Deccan, Bihar, Kumaon, Khyber, Rohilkhand, Carnatic, Rajputana, Konkan, Bombay, Bengal, Madras. *Corvettes:* Assam. *Survey Vessel*: Investigator. Trawlers: Nasik, Calcutta, Cochin, Amritsar. *Motor Minesweepers:* Four in number. *Harbour Defence Motor Launches:* Four in number. All existing landing craft.

Pakistan

Sloops: Narbada, Godavari. *Frigates*: Shamsher, Dhanush. *Mine-sweepers*: Kathiawar, Baluchistan, Malwa, Oudh. *Trawlers*: Rampur, Baroda. *Motor Minesweepers*: Two in number. *Harbour Defence Motor Launches:* Four in number.

THE AIR FORCE

In 1912 an officer of the Royal Artillery attended army manoeuvres at Rawalpindi with an early type of Farman biplane and a French pilot.[21] Both the pilot and the machine had been imported into India at the Officer's private expense. The few flights that were made ended in disaster to the aeroplane, but they bore fruit in directing serious attention to the military potentialities of the new arm. Within a short time, it was decided to form an Indian Flying School.

The Air Force in India had its beginnings in the Indian Flying School opened in 1914 at Sitapur where flying commenced on 14th February in the same year. The staff was provided by officers of the Indian Army who had learnt to fly while in England. Mechanics and aeronautical material were provided from England. This Indian flying unit, which first saw active service with the Indian Expeditionary Force despatched to Egypt during the First World War, may be regarded as the embryo of the Air Force in India.

After rendering valuable service in Egypt, the personnel of the Indian Flying Unit were released for service in Mesopotamia where the air organisation for war was centralised and thus the winter of 1915 saw the demise of the Indian Flying Corps as a separate body.

As a result of an urgent request by the Viceroy, one flight of No. 31 Squadron and a nucleus Aircraft Park arrived at Nowshera for work on the North-West Frontier. Thus No. 31 Squadron with its Crest—a five pointed star of India and with the Motto. "In Caelum Indicum Primus" "First into Indian Skies", was the first regular Air Force unit to serve in India.

Aircrafts were employed for the first time in India on active operations on 16 October 1916, though for reconnaissance duties only, in the Shabkadar district of the N.W.F. Province. The first offensive air operations in India were against the Mohmands in November, 1916. The first flight from Egypt to India took place in December, 1918.

During World War I, Lt. Indra Lal Ray shot down, 9 German planes in 13 days but was shot down and killed on 22 July, 1918. He was posthumously awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross—First DFC among Indian pilots in the RAF. Later Flt. Lt. S. Sukthanker was the first Navigator to win a DFC.

Brigadier N.D.K. Mac Ewen who was entrusted with post-war reorganisation of the airforces in India arrived from England by air on 15 January 1919, having made the first England to India flight. Following his efforts and as a result of the recommendations of the Indian Sandhurst Committee better known as Skeen Committee for making Indians eligible for employment as K.C.O's, in the Air arm of the Army in India, 2 vacancies were allotted at the Royal Air Force College at Cranwell from 1928 onwards.

Nos. 1 and 3 Fighter Squadrons and an Aircraft Depot were formed during 1920 and by the end of the year, the air forces were organised into two wings with Headquarters at Peshawar and Ambala. Air Headquarters moved from Simla to Ambala. A Hill Depot was established at Lower Barian in the Murree Hills in April, 1920.

The first R.A.F. display took place in Delhi in February, 1927 and all units took part. It became an almost annual event. The first aircraft flown by the Royal Indian Air Force was the Westland-built "Wapiti".

A Bomber Transport Flight was originally formed at Lahore in April, 1929, with one aircraft only.

In 1928-29 the transport Flight evacuated 712 people from Kabul and rendered timely help and relief to the military garrison at Chitral. In June

1935 after the devastating earthquake at Quetta, the Transport Squadron took part in the relief and evacuation of civilians.[22]

On 8 October, 1932 all Indian enrolled personnel serving with the RAF in India were formed into the Indian Technical and Followers Corps vide Government of India Gazette Notification No. 565 of 1932, when the first batch of the Indian Officers was also commissioned and the Indian Air Force established. The formation of the first regular flight of the Indian Air Force "A" Flight No. 1 Squadron, I.A.F. took place on 1st April, 1933 at Drigh Road, Karachi, the Indian Officers having been trained at Royal Air Force College Cranwell, and the technical airmen at the R.A.F. Depot, India. The Indian Air Force Act came into force on the same day.

The Flight of 1933 went on active service in 1937 to the North-West Frontier in support of the Army to apprehend the elusive Fakir of Ipi. One of the pilots, Flying-Officer Mehar Singh made a safe forced-landing in a zig-zag rocky valley when a bullet struck through the petrol tank of his Wapiti with a full load of bombs. He succeeded in hiding in a cave from the fanatical tribesmen and eventually reached a post manned by Tochi Scouts. Twenty-four hours later he was patrolling the same valley.

A ten-Squadrons Air Force was planned in 1939. By 1940 five Coastal Defence Flights manned by Volunteer Reserve Officers were organised at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Cochin and Karachi who took over from the R.A.F. the aerial defence of 3,000 miles of coast.

Training units were established at Risalpur, Lahore, Ambala and later at Jodhpur and Secunderabad. Peshawar and Karachi offered operational training facilities for the cadets passing out of the Advanced Flying School, Ambala. When War broke out a dozen pilots and a dozen Wapities, constituted the flying strength of the Indian Air Force. The ground staff numbered 180.

Indian Air Force Units commanded by Indian Officers served with distinction in the World War II. The IAF did a commendable job in Burma and other theatres of World War II. The new I.A.F. Ensign and Crest were presented by the H.R.H. Duke of Gloucester at Risalpur. The designation of 'Royal' as a prefix to the Indian Air Force was approved on 12 March, 1945. The year 1946 saw the formation of the first Royal Indian Air Force Transport Squadron.

On 15 August 1947, the RAF was divided into two services between India and Pakistan, the Indian Union received as her share seven fighter Squadrons and one Transport Squadron by this division.

Notes and References

I. The Beginnings

1. "Suratt is reckon'd the most fam'd Emporium of the Indian Empire, where all commodities are vendible . . . And the river is very commodius for the Importation of Foreign goods, which are brought up to the city in Hoys and Yachts, and country Boats". *Ovington* (1609). The seat of the Company's Government remained at Surat up to 1686.

2. On the 11th January 1613 the Mogul Emperor's *firman* to establish a factory at Surat was delivered to Captain Best, the Companys' representative. This was the origin of the Bombay Presidency. In 1625 a trading centre was established at Masulipatam (South India). In 1640 the Company acquired the concession of Madras which became first independent Position of the British in India. Such was the origin of the Madras Presidency. The Bengal Presidency originated when in 1634 by a *firman* of the Emperor Shah Jehan, permission was given to the Company to establish factories in Bengal with a fort at Piplee. *The Army in India and its Evolution.*
3. A word meaning simply commercial agent. At the bottom were apprentices, next grades upwards being writers, factors, merchants, senior merchants and agents. This classification of writers, factors and merchants ceased to exist in 1833.
4. "Mr. Robert Clive, Writer in the service, being of a Martial Disposition, and having acted as a Volunteer in our late Engagements, we have granted him an Ensign's Commission, upon his application for the same." *Letter dt. 2nd May, 1747 from the council at Fort St. David to the Court of Directors.*
5. "The first Native foot soldiers in the service of the Government (East India Company) were known as Peons. In February 1747 there were about 3,000 of these men employed at Fort St. David, of whom about 900 were armed with muskets." *History of the Madras Army by Lt. Cot. W.J. Wilson.*
6. "We fortify our Houses, have Bunders or Docks for our vessels, to which belong yards for Seamen, Soldiers and stores!' Fryer.

   The armies of the native potentates had primitive artillery; and so it came about that the Company's factories had to be armed with ordnance, taken as a rule from their ships and mounted and manned by their sailors. Lt. Col. EWC Sandes. *The Military Engineer in India.*
7. F. Yeats Brown's Martial India.
8. As late as the year 1805, a writership in the service of the East India Company was thought to be as good as a seat in Parliament. It was mentioned in the British Parliament on April 25, 1809 that Lord Viscount Castlereagh in the year 1805 did deliver up into the hands of Lord Clancery, a writership, of which he had the gift, for the purpose of exchanging it for a seat of Parliament.

II. The Formative Period

9. The title 'President', as applied to the Chief of a principal Factory, was in early popular use, though in the Charters of the East India Company it first occurred in 1661. Sainsbury's *Calendar* mentions "Capt. Jourdnion, President of the English at Bantam" in 1614.

   "Speaking of the Dutch Commander, as well as the English 'President' at Surat, they go about with a great train, sometimes with people of their own mounted, but particularly with a great crowd of Indian servants on foot and armed, according to custom with sword, target, bow and arrows." *P. Della Valle.* (1623).
10. In early days of the Company, the Council at each Presidency exercised all military functions, including that of command and themselves dealt with every military matter including supplies of munitions till the middle of the eighteenth century when the post of Commander-in-Chief was instituted. Then, as territories were acquired, forces increased, and political, revenue and other business grew, Committees were formed which included officers and members of the Council. (Young).
11. Lack of adequate communication, nature of the country, characteristics of the peoples, their language and customs militated against the development of the Presidency armies and their administrative services on identical lines (Young).
12. *Ledger and Sword,* Vol. 1.

13. The only source of supply for the Companys' forces upto practically the last quarter of the eighteenth century for any sort of Ordnance was the home manufacturer (Young).

14. The early Indian-made guns were very crude, mostly of iron bars bound by iron rings or of iron cylinders with brass cast round them. They were clumsy and inefficient, and Orme says that even in the eighteenth century the natives thought it good if they fired a piece once in fifteen minutes. He also mentions that at Plassey in 1757 many of their guns were mounted on huge stage. The casting of brass cannon, however, was well established in those times in many other parts of India. The East India Company in 1770 issued direction that "the natives must be kept as ignorant as possible both of the theory and practice of artillery so that native powers are kept dependent on us for Ordnance." (Young).

15. On 17 June, 1748, the court of Directors in England issued Regulations for the formation of a regular company of Artillery, and establishment of regular Ordnance Services and Laboratories for manufacture of Ammunition. This revolutionary Regulation, applicable to the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay transformed huge stocks of British military hardware from the gun-rooms of the ships onto the Indian land. Thereafter Artillery Companies, Ordnance Depots and Ammunition Laboratories, located mostly in forts were formed rapidly in the three Presidencies.
The Company's troops upto this time were entirely English not partly Scotch or Welsh or Irish as is evident from an examination of the attestation forms in original lying in the Imperial Library. Out of these troops, no Catholic was employed or even admitted in the Ordnance Magazines or Ammunition Laboratories. (For details, *please see Appendix II*)

16. Clive's organisation was evolutionary, not revolutionary and in analyzing it one is led to reflect that, when two such conservative races as the British and Indian combine together to form a given institution, some traces of it tend apparently to remain for many years. *The Army in India and its Evolution.*

17. Or the Red Battalion probably from its dress. Originally in 1461 in England red was adopted for a small number of men, when a contingent for the army of the King-Maker, the Earl of Warwick, was sent from Rye dressed in red coats. Henry VII, in 1485, instituted the Yeomen of the Guard as a kind of body-guard, and they may be taken as a nucleus of the present standing army of the England. They consisted of picked men, and were armed, one half with bows, the other half with hand-guns. Their dress, as it continued subsequently was red. *Journal of the Army Historical Society.*

18. General Sir John Clavering, K.B., was the third son of Sir James Clavering, of Greencroft, Durham. He was born in 1722, and he married the Lady Diana, second daughter of the First Earl of Delawarr. He entered the Army in the Coldstream Guards; and in 1759 he served with marked distinction at the capture of Guadeloupe. He was then appointed Aide-de-camp to the King. In 1772 he became Colonel of the 52nd Foot, and in 1776 he was created a Knight of the Bath. He attained the rank of Lieutenant-General in 1770. In 1773 he was appointed to the command of the Bengal Army, with a seat in the new Council in Bengal, and a salary of £10,000 a year. In 1777 he died in Calcutta, aged fifty-five. He was "an honest, straightforward man, of passionate disposition, and mediocre abilities." *Dictionary of National Biography.*

19. "It is my opinion, that the arrangement with the Soubah of the Deccan should be, that the whole of the force should be *Silledar* horse." Wellington, III, 671 (1804).

III. Unification, Development and Partition

20. *The Political, Commercial, Financial Conditions of the Anglo-Eastern Empire, 1832.*

21. The earliest civilian flights in India took place in Calcutta at the end of 1910. Captain Maxwell Brigade Major of the 2nd Infantry Brigade was the first Military Officer to fly on 17 February, 1911.

22. As regards civil aviation in India, a temporary service between Karachi and Bombay operated by R.A.F. aircraft and personnel began in 1919. This was followed by air mail service between Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon by three aircraft supplied by Messers Handley Page & Company which later helped considerably to lay the foundations for the Imperial Airways and other transcontinental air services. The first airship to leave England for Karachi—The R-101—crashed at Beauvais in France in October, 1930. Sir Sefton Brancker, a pioneer of civil aviation in India, was among those who lost their lives.

5

Presidency Armies: Bengal, Madras, Bombay

In the previous chapter we dealt briefly with the origin, formation and development of the Presidency armies. The period 1796-1830 is considered very important in the history of the evolution of the Indian Army in general and the Presidency armies in particular. During this period two far-reaching re-organisations of the army, first in 1796 and the second in 1824, took place. The first general re-organisation of 1796 was reviewed and its various defects remedied by the 1824 re-organisation, to make it endurable for a long time. It is proposed to study in depth the state of Presidency armies during this period, and as these existed in 1830-32, after the second re-organisation. The following account is based on the evidence rendered by Major-General Sir J. Malcolm, Colonel Pennington, Colonel J. Munro, Colonel Stannus and other high ranking officers before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company in 1831-32. *(Ed.)*

During the earliest days of the British Indian history which began in 1607 when the first British trading ship *Hector* arrived at Surat, the military element of the Company's personnel consisted solely of the factors themselves and of the officer and crews, of the armed trading ships, despatched from England to the Eastern seas. Subsequently as the English merchants started settling on the coastline land, they employed natives for guarding factories in their settlements. These first guard levies had no discipline and were armed with matchlocks, bows and arrows, spears, swords or any other weapon they could get. They consisted of bodies of various strength, each under the command of its own chief, who received from Government the pay of the whole body and distributed it to the men. As time went on some improvement took place in discipline, while the best Indian officers were appointed as commandants. Muskets were issued in place of matchlocks and the men acquired some idea of drill.

Presidency Chief as C-in-C

The early English settlement was governed by the chief of its principal factory who was designated President and a Council was formed to advise and assist him in his functioning as President. By a charter granted in 1661, the President and Council of each factory were entrusted with power of martial law for the government of the troops kept for its defence. The President was Commander-in-Chief of the forces belonging to the Presidency, which consisted, with few exceptions, of English soldiers sent out in the Company's ships, and on occasions of emergency, a few European mercenaries or deserters from the various French, Dutch and Portuguese settlements in India. In addition to these were a few half-castes, called Topasses and African slaves, the latter imported from the Company's stations on the east coast of Africa.

Origin of Presidency Armies

Whereas the English merchants transacted a good deal of business, they did a good deal of fighting too. For want of authority of a strong central government in the far-flung areas conditions in India were not stable. Prowling, looting and attacking by *Nawabs* and *Zamindars* and their armed men on the English and other European settlements were not uncommon. To safeguard their property and person, the English merchants armed themselves and also the natives in their employment called peons. Large quantities of big guns, arms, shot, powder and other military stores were imported from England by the merchants for protecting their factories and fortifications. The Gunner and the Gun Room Crew were, in addition to their own duties, responsible for handling these military stores; they and even the storekeepers, factors, writers and merchants used to supply military stores to the Council, particularly in the Bombay Presidency, on substantial commission sometimes upto 30% on the cost of supplies. The Council dealt with these supplies normally through its Committee of Stores and Committee of Works.

Different Patterns

Consequent to the different sources of military supplies each Presidency had a different pattern of general and technical stores such as tents, gun carriages, etc. Since each Presidency had a separate establishment for the management of stores nothing was given from the one to the other but as a private loan. In brief, the general equipment of the Army in the three Presidencies varied very much. A Presidency deficient in military stores seldom got help from the other Presidencies.

An Officer on his arrival in India took his chance whether he was appointed to an European or a Native regiment of a particular Presidency and in that Corps he remained until he obtained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, unless removed by augmentation of the army.

Different Pays of Sepoys

As regards difference in the pay and allowances of native troops of the Presidencies, Colonel John Munro stated in 1832, "Just before the conquest of Mysore there was very great difficulty found in procuring recruits and in maintaining the battalions of the Madras army in a complete state; the desertions were very frequent. This was the cause that induced the Madras Government, with the sanction of the Court of Directors, to increase the pay of the Native troops at Madras from five rupees to seven rupees a month; and this has produced a difference between the pay of Madras and Bengal sepoys which exists to the present moment. The Madras rates of pay were afterwards adopted at Bombay."

THE THREE ARMIES

The amount of force maintained at each Presidency, and in each year 1793 to 1830, was as follows:

The Three Armies	*Bengal*	*Madras*	*Bombay*	*India*
1794	35,092	40,456	13,441	88,429
1795	34,313	42,198	13,213	89,724
1796	36,946	48,494	16,743	102,188
1797	40,323	52,184	16,494	109,001
1798	47,494	47,784	18,035	113,313
1799	55,760	52,556	21,163	129,489
1800	57,041	56,351	24,740	138,132
1801	58,909	85,696	11,271	155,876
1802	52,456	81,047	13,334	146,847
1803	52,853	72,278	15,010	140,141
1804	78,743	81,907	18,063	178,713
1805	89,068	81,832	21,665	192,565
1806	83,162	73,008	26,696	182,866
1807	80,619	72,139	27,325	180,083
1808	81,375	71,233	28,310	180,918
1809	83,600	69,942	31,962	185,504
1810	87,840	71,455	29,919	189,214
1811	97,053	73,924	30,167	201,144
1812	101,619	69,353	28,485	199,457
1813	101,765	69,437	28,869	200,071
1814	99,775	66,389	28,274	194,438
1815	129,542	68,704	28,937	227,183
1816	130,935	70,998	28,950	230,883
1817	124,531	72,126	29,533	236,190
1818	136,128	73,517	33,595	243,240
1819	132,346	76,502	36,524	245,372
1820	132,914	88,430	35,951	257,295
1821	128,987	88,718	39,27k	256,982
1822	129,239	77,664	38,337	245,240

1823	129,834	71,423	36,475	237,722
1824	136,096	69,446	37,885	243,427
1825	158,612	76,422	41,514	276,548
1826	157,561	83,829	49,755	291,145
1827	144,301	80,047	49,267	273,615
1828	135,810	75,473	47,745	259,028
1829	126,542	72,803	44,103	243,448
1830	112,598	70,730	40,148	223,476

PRESIDENCY-WISE

THE GENERAL AND OTHER STAFF IN THE YEAR 1832

Bengal

- The Commander-in-chief. (a)
- Military Secretary to ditto. (a)
- Persian Interpreter to ditto. (a)
- Aides-de-camp to ditto. (a)
- 2 Major-generals in command of divisions of the Army.
- 2 Aides-de-camp to ditto. Adjutant-general of His Majesty's Forces.
- Assistant Adjutant-general ditto. Brigade-major of His Majesty's Forces at the Presidency.
- Quartermaster-general of His Majesty's Forces.
- Inspector-general of His Majesty's Hospitals.
- Assistant to ditto.
- Surgeon to the Commander-in-chief. (a)

Madras

- 1 Lieutenant-general commanding the Forces. (b)
- Military Secretary to ditto. (b)
- Persian Interpreter to ditto. (b)
- Aides-de-camp to ditto. (b)
- 2 Major-generals commanding divisions of the Army.
- 2 Aides-de-camp to ditto.
- Deputy Adjutant-general of His Majesty's Forces.
- Brigade-major of His Majesty's Troops.
- Deputy Quartermaster-general of His Majesty's Forces.
- Deputy Inspector-general of His Majesty's Hospitals.

(a) Also Commander-in-chief of the Company's Army, and allowed, in his joint capacity,—
1 Military Secretary.
1 Persian Interpreter.
3 Aides-de-camp
1 Surgeon.

(b) Also Commander-in-chief of the Company's Troops at Madras, and allowed, in his joint capacity,
1 Military Secretary.
1 Persian Interpreter.
2 Aides-de-Camp.

Distribution of European and Native Troops—Presidency-wise was as under

*Bengal Troops**	*In 1813*		*In 1820*		*In 1830*	
	Europeans	*Natives*	*Europeans*	*Natives*	*Europeans*	*Natives*
Bengal, Behar and Cuttak	2388	21622	3931*	27246	5540	16776
Country between Behar and Oude, including Posts on the Banks of the Ganges	1494	5885	1152	7907	1362	4633
Oude	155	6309	129	7381	143	4809
Dooab and Territory between the Ganges and the Jumna	4521	12975	4516	14072	4795	14124
Rohilcund	47	1943	50	4353	64	3863
Acquisitions from Nepaul	—	—	33	4209	41	3552
Country west of the Jumna and north-west of Chumbul	765	19688	664	17065	2233	15987
Rajpoothana	—	—	237	9970	357	9102
Ceded Districts in the Nerbudda	—	—	390	13745	246	6167
Bundelecund	144	5488	69	3877	97	3688
Malwa	—	—	285	3942	340	4693
Assam, Sylhet, Chittagong and Arracan	18	1103	12	1679	84	4776
Penang	21	1620	24	1508	—	—
Totals	9553	76633	11455	116954	15202	92170
	Exclusive of Troops at Java, Engineeers, Escorts, Ordnance Drivers, Conductors, Staff, &c.		Exclusive of Engineeers, Fort Marlboro' Local Corps, Ordnance Drivers, Escorts, Staff, &c.		Exclusive of Engineeers, Escorts, Ordnance Drivers, Conductors, Staff, &c.	
	6150	9429	218	4284	399	4727
Totals	15703	86062	11673	121238	15701	96897

*Madras Troops***	*In 1813*		*In 1820*		*In 1830*	
	Europeans	*Natives*	*Europeans*	*Natives*	*Europeans*	*Natives*
Nizam's Dominions	1136	8455	1892	9758	1347	6811
Rajah of Berar's ditto	—	—	678	8035	816	4001
Northern Circars	594	4753	465	8888	944	6714
Ceded Districts	1002	7588	1020	3936	1069	4472
Mysore	3403	8891	1825	7578	1779	5682
Carnatic	4961	12246	2598	24005	3841	19571
Portuguese Territories	464	2820	—	—	—	—
Malabar and Canara	1130	3076	1134	1967	959	2491
Travancore	493	2909	1019	2039	169	2455
Malay Peninsula	37	18	—	—	1141	2772
Candeish and Surat	—	—	48	2217	—	—
Poonah	20	575	46	2645	—	—
Southern Mahratta Country	—	—	352	5338	75	2456
Totals	13240	51331	11077	76607	12140	57425
	Exclusive of Engineers, Conductors of Ordnance, Native Invalids and Staff, &c.		Exclusive of Engineers, Conductors Recruiting Depot, Staff, &c.		Exclusive of Engineers, Super numeraries, Conductors Staff, &c.	
	350	4516	256	490	841	324
Totals	13590	55847	11333	77097	12981	57749

*Bombay Troops***	*In 1813*		*In 1820*		*In 1830*	
	Europeans	*Natives*	*Europeans*	*Natives*	*Europeans*	*Natives*
Cutch	—	—	59	3431	116	1135
Kattywar	—	—	19	420	32	1208
Guzerat	1053	5890	755	4070	1260	7938
Candeish and Surat	43	2205	919	3890	108	5042
Bombay Island	3383	6828	2474	5879	1441	3873
Northern and Southern Conkan	24	1197	72	4670	66	3997
Poonah and Sattara	253	7836	1169	6789	3580	7889
Southern Mahratta Country	—	—	—	—	861	1196
Malwa	—	—	18	1129	—	—
Totals	4756	23956	5485	30271	7469	2278
	Exclusive of Engineers, Conductors, Staff, &c.		Exclusive of Engineers, Conductors, Staff, &c.		Exclusive of Engineers, Conductors, Staff, &c.	
	122	35	151	37	258	143
Totals	4878	23991	5636	30315	7727	32421

* In 1793, there were 5440 European and 29382 Native and in 1803, 7627 European and 45226 Native troops in the Bengal Presidency.
** In 1793, there were 9981 European and 29914 Native and in 1803, 12765 European and 59513 Native troops in the Madras Presidency.
*** In 1793, there were 3347 European and 19265 Native and in 1803, 4548 European and 10472 Native troops in the Bombay Presidency.

Bombay

- 1 Lieutenant-general commanding the Forces. (c)
- Military Secretary to ditto. (c)
- Persian Interpreter to ditto. (c)
- Aides-de-camp to ditto. (c)
- 1 Major-general in command of a divisions of the Army.
- 1 Aide-de-camp to ditto.
- Brigade-major of His Majesty's Troops.
- Deputy Inspector-general of His Majesty's Hospitals.

Bengal

1 Adjutant-general.
1 Deputy Adjutant-general.
2 Assistants Adjutant-general (headquarters).
1 Assistant Adjutant-general of Artillery.
4 Assistant Adjutant-general of Divisions.
3 Deputy Assistants Adjutant-general of Divisions.
13 Brigade-majors.
5 Fort Adjutants (2 are Invalid Officers).
1 Town Major.

31

1 Quartermaster-general.
1 Deputy Quartermaster-general.
2 Assistants Quartermaster-general.
4 Deputy Assistants Quartermaster-general, 1st Class.
3 Deputy Assistants Quartermaster-general, 2nd class.

11

1 Commissary-general.
1 Deputy Commissary-general.
3 Assistants Commissary-general, 1st Class.
3 Assistants Commissary-general, 2nd Class.
4 Deputy Assistants general, 1st Class.
4 Deputy Assistants Commissary-general, 2nd Class.
12 Sub-Assistants Commissary-general

28

1 Auditor-general.
1 Deputy Auditor-general.
1 First Assistant Auditor-general.
1 Second Assistant Auditor-general.

4

1 Presidency Paymaster (an Invalid Officer).
7 Deputy Paymasters.

(c) Also Commander-in-chief of the Company's Troops at Bombay, and allowed, in his joint capacity,
1 Military Secretary.
1 Interpreter.
2 Aides-de-camp.

5 Paymasters of Native Pensioners and Family Money.

13

1 Judge Advocate-general.
7 Deputy Judge Advocates-general.

8

1 Military Secretary to Government.
1 Deputy Military Secretary to Government.
1 Assistant Military Secretary to Government.

3

2 Stipendiary Members of the Military Board.
1 Secretary and Accountant to Military Board.
2 Assistants Secretary to Military Board.

5

Artillery Officers

1 Principal Commissary of Ordnance.
1 Deputy Principal Commissary of Ordnance.
6 Commissaries of Ordnance.
2 Deputy Commissaries of Ordnance
1 Agent for Gun-carriages.
1 Superintendent of Foundry, Fort William (Engineer Officer).

12

1 Secretary to the Clothing Board.
2 Agents for Army Clothing.

3

42 Department of Public Works; (of these 22 were Engineer Officers, 1 a Pensioned Officer, and 5 were not military men).
16 Survey Department (4 were Engineer Officers).
12 Stud Department (1 not a military-man, Chevalier De L'Etang).
59 In Political Civil, and Miscellaneous. Situations:

9 Residents and their Assistants.
11 Nizam's and such Service.
18 Political Agents and their Assistants.
21 Miscellaneous.

6 Aides-de-camp to Governor-general (3 were King's Officers; I was also Military Secretary).
1 Military Secretary to Commander-in-chief (King's Officers).
1 Persian Interpreter to Commander-in-chief.
3 Aides-de-camp to Commander-in-chief (King's Officers).
7 Aides de-camp to General Officers on the Staff (Kings and Company's).

18

265 Total in Bengal.

Madras

1 Adjutant-general.
1 Deputy Adjutant-general.
1 Assistant Adjutant-general.
1 Deputy Assistant Adjutant-general.
4 Assistants Adjutant-general of Forces and Artillery.
6 Deputy Assistants Adjutant-general of Divisions.
2 Majors of Brigade.
3 Cantonment Adjutants.
6 Fort Adjutants (1 at Fort St. George is also Superintendent of Gentlemen Cadets).
2 Staff Officers (Neilgherries and Cuddalore Depot).
1 Town Major.

28

1 Quartermaster-general.
1 Deputy Quartermaster-general.
1 Assistant Quartermaster-general.
1 Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-general
1 Deputy Quartermaster-general of Nagpore Force.
2 Assistants Quartermaster-general of Hyderabad Force.
5 Deputy Assistants Quartermaster general of Divisions.

12

1 Judge Advocate-general.
9 Deputy Judge Advocates-general of Districts.

10

1 Commissary-general.
1 Deputy Commissary-general
7 Assistants Commissary-general.
8 Deputy Assistants Commissary-general.
12 Sub-Assistants Commissary-general.

29

Artillery Officers

1 Principal Commissary of Ordnance, and Superintendent of Gun-carriages:
7 Commissaries of Ordnance.
3 Deputy Commissaries of Ordnance.
1 Deputy Superintendent of Gun-carriages.

12

1 Deputy Surveyor-general.
6 Assistants Surveyor-general.

7

1 Auditor-general
1 Deputy Auditor-general.
1 Assistant Auditor-general.
1 Deputy Assistant Auditor-general.

4

1 Paymaster Presidency.
13 Paymasters of Divisions, Districts, and Forces.
1 Paymaster of Family Payments and Pensions.

15

1 Secretary to Military Board.
1 Deputy Secretary to Military Board.

1 Assistant Secretary to Military Board.

3

1 Secretary to Clothing Board.
28 Department of Public Works (all Engineer Officers except one).
1 Barrack-master, Fort St. George.
1 Superintendent Gunpowder Manufactory.

31

1 Military Secretary to the Governor.
2 Aides-de-camp to the Governor.

16

1 Quartermaster-general.
1 Deputy Quartermaster-general.
2 Assistants Quartermaster-general.
4 Deputy Assistants Quartermaster-general.

8

1 Commissary-general.
3 First Assistants Commissary-general.
3 Second Assistants Commissary-general.

1 Military Secretary to the Commander-in-chief (King's Officer).
2 Aides-de-camp to Commander-in-chief (1 King's Officer).
5 Aides-de-camp to General Officers on the Staff (King's and Company's Officers).
41 In Political and Miscellaneous Situations.
9 Residents and Officers under them.
23 Nizam's and such service.
3 In Persia.
5 Miscellaneous.

203 Total at Madras.

Bombay

1 Adjutant general.
1 Deputy Adjutant-general.
2 Assistants Adjutant-general.
1 Deputy Assistant Adjutant-general.
7 Brigade-majors.
1 Cantonment Adjutant (Belgaum).
3 Line Adjutants.
3 Fort Adjutants.

16

1 Quartermaster-general.
1 Deputy Quartermaster-general.
2 Assistants Quartermaster-general.
4 Deputy Assistants Quartermaster-general.

8

1 Commissary-general.
3 First Assistants Commissary-general.
3 Second Assistants Commissary-general.

5 Third Assistants Commissary-general.

12

3 In Persia.
5 Miscellaneous.

203 Total at Madras.

Artillery Officers

4 Commissaries of Ordnance.
4 Deputy Commissaries of Ordnance.
1 Agent for Gun-carriages.
1 Agent for Gunpowder.
1 Director of Depot of Instruction.

11

1 Auditor and Accountant of Military Store, Accounts and Returns.

1 Ordnance Assistant to Commandant of Artillery.

2

1 Auditor-general.
1 Deputy Auditor-general.
1 First Assistant Auditor-general.
1 Second Assistant Auditor-general.

5

6 Paymasters.

1 Judge Advocate-general.
2 Deputy Judge Advocates-general.

3

1 Deputy Surveyor-general.
1 Assistant Surveyor-general.
1 Assistant to Surveyor in the Concan.

3

16 Department of Public Works (all Engineer Officers).

1 Barrack-master (Bombay).

1 Superintendent of the Stud.
1 Military Secretary to the Governor.
2 Aides-de-camp to the Governor.

4

1 Military Secretary to Commander-in-chief.
2 Aides-de-camp to Commander-in-chief.
1 Interpreter to Commander-in-chief.

4

3 Aides-de-camp to General Officers on the Staff.
12 In Civil, Political, and Miscellaneous Situations:
5 Residents and Assistants.
2 Nizam's Service.
3 Guicowar's Contingent.
1 Holkar's Contingent.
1 Collector at Ahmednugger.

108 Total at Bombay.

ARMY OF BENGAL PRESIDENCY

The first battalion raised in Bengal were 10 companies of 100 men each, commanded by a captain, with one lieutenant, one ensign and one or two serjeants. Each company had a standard of the same ground as the facings, with a different device (suited to its subadar, or Native captain), of a sabre, a crescent, or a dagger. The Company's colours, with the Union in one corner, were carried by the grenadiers. The first battalions were known by the name of the captain by whom they were commanded, and though, in 1764, 19 corps received a numerical rank, corresponding with the actual rank of their commandants at that period, this did not prevent them from continuing to be known under their former appellation, or from assuming the name of a favourite leader. The 15th battalion was raised in Calcutta in 1757, and called the "Mathews," from the name of its first commander. This corps was with Colonel Ford in 1759, when that able officer, with 346

Europeans and 1,400 sepoys, besieged and took by storm the strong fortress of Masulipatam, making prisoners a French garrison, who, both in Europeans and Natives, were nearly double his numbers. In 1763, in the wars with the Vizier of Oude, the "Mathews," which was with the force under the command of Major Adams, is stated, when the Company's European regiment was broken by cavalry, to have nobly supported His Majesty's 84th regiment.

In 1782, the "Mathews" was one of three Bengal corps who mutinied, under an apprehension of being embarked for foreign service; and though the conduct of those corps was remarkable for the total absence of that spirit of general insubordination and disposition to outrage by which mutinies of soldiery are usually marked, they were in the ensuing year broken and drafted into some other battalions.

Lal Pultan—Mutineers Blown Away

The present second battalion of the 12th regiment appears, to have been raised some months before the "Mathews." It is the first raised battalion. This corps was at the battle of Plassey. It was named by the sepoys the Lal Pultan, or the Red battalion, and afterwards Gallis, from the name of one of its first captains. It was associated with the "Mathews" in all its early service, particularly at Masulipatam, Gheretty, &c.; but in 1764 it mutinied, on the pretext of some promises which were made to it having been broken. Having no apparent object, it was easily reduced to obedience; but Major Munro (afterwards Sir Hector Munro), who then commanded the army, thought a severe example necessary, and twenty-eight of the most guilty were tried by a drum-head court-martial, and sentenced to death. Eight of these were directed to be immediately blown away from the guns of the force then at Chuprah. As they were on the point of executing the sentence, three grenadiers, who happened to be amongst them, stepped forth, and claimed the privilege of being blown away from the right-hand guns. "They had always fought on the right (they said), and they hoped they would be permitted to die at that post of honour." Their request was granted, and they were the first executed.

This corps subsequently distinguished itself in 1776 at the battle of Korah. It had been known originally as the first battalion. It was afterwards numbered the 9th, from the rank of its captain. In a new arrangement of the army it was made the 16th, then the 17th. By the regulations of 1796, it has become the 2nd of the 12th regiment.

A detachment, composed of six Native battalions, a corps of Native cavalry, and a proportion of artillery, altogether amounting to 103 European officers, and 6,624 Native troops, was in 1778 sent from Bengal to the relief of the settlement of Bombay. During the five years that they were absent from their home, the men of this detachment conducted themselves in the most exemplary manner, and acquired distinction in every service in which they were employed.

First Encounter between European and Natjve Troops

The force detached to the Carnatic in 1781 was commanded by Colonel Pearse. It consisted of five regiments, of two small battalions (500 men each) of Native infantry, some Native cavalry, and a proportion of artillery. This corps, which marched about 1,100 miles along the sea-coast, through the province of Cuttack, and the Northern Circars to Madras, arrived at that Presidency at a most eventful period, and their services were eminently useful to the preservation of our power in that quarter. Among the many occasions which this detachment had of distinguishing itself, the attack on the French lines at Cuddalore in 1783 was the most remarkable. The Bengal sepoys that were engaged on that occasion behaved nobly. It was one of the first times that European troops and the disciplined Natives of India had met at the bayonet.

The rebellion of Cheyt Singh, the Rajah of Benares, in 1781, must be familiar to all acquainted with Indian history. The purpose in mentioning it, is limited to the object of showing the conduct of the Bengal sepoys under one of the severest trials of fidelity to which they were ever exposed.

Trust Well Rewarded

The numerous followers of the Rajah had risen upon two companies of sepoys appointed to guard the house in which he was placed under restraint, and killed and wounded the whole of them. The rashness of an European officer had led another party to slaughter in the streets of Ramnagur. Mr. Hastings, who was at Benares when these events occurred, had only a few companies of sepoys to guard his person, and even these he had no money to support. He summoned corps from different quarters to his aid; but when we reflect on the impression which the first success of Cheyt Singh had made, and consider that by far the greatest proportion of the troops with whom Mr. Hastings had overcome the dangers with which he was surrounded were men of the same tribe and country as those against whom they were to act, and that the chief, who was declared a rebel, had long been considered by many of them as their legitimate prince, we must respect the mind that remained firm and unmoved at so alarming a crisis. The knowledge Mr. Hastings had of the sepoys led him to place implicit trust in them on this trying occasion, and his confidence was well rewarded. Their habits of discipline, and their attachment to their officers and the service, proved superior to the ties of caste and of kindered. Not an instance of defection occurred, and the public interests were preserved by their zeal and valour.

Composition of Bengal Army

I must offer some observations on the composition of the army of Bengal Presidency. The cavalry, which now consists of eight regiments, is comparatively young; its formation on the present establishment was only just completed when the Mahratta war of 1803 commenced. Their conduct, however, in the severe service that ensued has justly raised their reputation,

and they at present form a most efficient and distinguished branch of the army to which they belong. The men are rather stouter than those in the same corps at Madras. The latter are almost all Mahomedans, and a considerable proportion of the Bengal cavalry are of the same race. The fact is, that with the exception of the Mahratta tribe, the Hindoos, are not, generally speaking, so much disposed as the Mahomedans to the duties of a trooper; and the Mahomedans are apparently more zealous and high-spirited soldiers, and it is excellent policy to have a considerable proportion of them in the service, to which experience has shown they often become very warmly attached. In the Native infantry of Bengal the Hindoos are in the full proportion of three-fourths to the Mahomedans. They consist chiefly of Rajpoots, who are a distinguished race among the Khiteree or military tribe. We may judge of the size of these men when we are told that the standard below which no recruit is taken is five feet six inches. The great proportion of the grenadiers are six feet and upwards. The Rajpoot is born a soldier. The mother speaks of nothing to her infant but deeds of arms, and every sentiment and action of the future man is marked by the first impressions that he has received. If he tills the ground (which is the common occupation of this class), his sword and shield are placed near the furrow, and moved as his labour advances. The frame of the Rajpoot is almost always improved (even if his pursuits are those of civil life) by martial exercises, he is from habit temperate in his diet, of a generous, though warm temper, and of good moral conduct; he is, when well-treated, zealous, and faithful.

In the year 1783 the artillery, consisted of a regiment of ten companies, each of 100 men, non-commissioned and privates, commanded by one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, ten captains, ten captain-lieutenants, twenty lieutenants, and twenty lieutenant fireworkers, now called second lieutenants. The European infantry consisted of three regiments, each of ten companies, each company of 100 men; non-commissioned and privates, commanded by one lieutenant-colonel, one major, seven captains, one captain-lieutenant, twelve lieutenants, and eight ensigns. Neither the artillery nor European infantry were ever completed in men. The Native infantry consisted of eighteen regiments, each of two battalions, commanded by a major, and to each battalion a captain, with six lieutenants, and four ensigns. The engineers had one lieutenant-colonel, one major, three captains, six lieutenants, and six ensigns. The whole army was commanded in chief by a colonel with the rank of brigadier-general.

The army, so composed, was divided into three regular brigades, and an extra brigade posted at Futtyghur, to keep in awe the Nuwaub of Furruckabad and his turbulent Patans; and each brigade was commanded by a colonel.

The staff of the army at that time consisted of an adjutant-general and his deputy, a quartermaster-general and his deputy, six majors of brigade, six barrackmasters, and one commissary-general, whose functions were then limited to the audit of accounts.

New Reorganisation

In the year 1785, Lieutenant-General Sloper was appointed Commander-in-Chief over all the British possessions in India, with a seat in the Council of Bengal: and about the same time orders were sent out to India for a new organisation of the army at all the Presidencies, by which the three European regiments of the Bengal army were formed into six, of eight companies each; and the eighteen regiments of Native infantry into thirty-six battalions, of 600 men each, commanded by a captain, having under him eight lieutenants, one of whom was appointed adjutant. The six European regiments and thirty-six of Native infantry were formed in six brigades, each brigade having one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, and two majors. In the artillery and engineers no alteration was made. There were therefore in the Bengal army, as formed in 1786, seven colonels, fifteen lieutenant-colonels, fifteen majors, ninety captains, sixteen captain-lieutenants, 386 lieutenants, and sixty-two ensigns or lieutenant fireworkers; total 591 officers, exclusive of general staff, for the command of 26,000 men; giving a proportion of nearly one officer to fifty men, and fifteen subalterns to one field officer; reducing, at the same time, six majors, six captains, seventy-eight lieutenants, and nearly 200 ensigns, including those who had been sent out cadets in the year 1781-82 and 1783, all of whom were placed on modified allowances somewhat better than half-pay.

At this period the army stations were Barrackpore, dependent on Fort William; Berhampore, Dinapore, and Chunar, within the provinces held by the East-India Company; and Cawnpore and Futtyghur provinces, under the paramount authority of the Nuwaub of Oude. These places were severally the head-quarters of brigades, where resided the colonels, having each an aide-de-camp, a major of brigade, a paymaster or deputy-paymaster, which composed the whole staff attached to each brigade, with exception to the brigade at Cawnpore, to which the Deputy quartermaster-general was attached. There was a paymaster-general, a deputy paymaster-general, three paymasters, and three deputy paymasters, appointed from the civil service to this department with the army; and for some time the commissary-general was also appointed from the civil service.

The troops stationed at Barrackpore furnished two battalions of sepoys as guards for Fort William, where the head-quarters of the artillery, engineers, and one European regiment were always fixed. These guards were relieved the first of every month. Two battalions were detached to Midnapore, then the extreme point to the south-west bordering on the Nagpore territory, and two were always at Barrackpore.

The brigade, the headquarters of which was at Berhampore, furnished one battalion to Chittagong, then the extreme point on the south-east, bordering on Arracan, one battalion at Dalla, and one at Dinapore.

From the Dinapore station one battalion was detached to Purneah, one to Kissengunge and one to Patna. Chunar detached two to Benares and two to Juanpore.

The stations the Nuwaub's provinces had always two battalions on duty at Lucknow, which were relieved from Cawnpore every two or three months; and when the rivers subsided after the monsoon, two battalions, with a detail of artillery, took up a position a little beyond Anoopsur, in observation of the Sies, who under Bango Sing: the chief of Fennasir, occasionally made predatory incursion into the Nuwaub's provinces.

Camp Equipage and its Conveyance

At that time all the cattle required either for draught or carriage with the army were provided by contract, excepting in the Native infantry, for whom no camp equipage was provided; and then, as now, they found means to convey their own baggage and supply their own provisions out of their pay which, for the private soldier was seven rupees a month in quarter, and eight and a-half when marching. The European officers serving with the Native had an allowance proportioned to rank, out of which they found their own camp equipage, and cattle for the conveyance of that and their baggage.

The officers and soldiers of the European regiments were provided with quarters, and the latter with single rations by Government when in garrison or cantonments, and when marching with camp equipage, that was conveyed by the contractor's cattle. The camp equipage, as well for the officers as for soldiers of the European army, was also provided by contract, and of the very worst quality, neither sheltering them from sun nor rain, and the cause of greater loss of lives in every campaign than was ever produced by all other causes combined.

Such were the circumstances, as above described, under which the Company's army on the Bengal establishment existed from 1786 to 1795, during which period there was one regiment of His Majesty's foot in Bengal: first, the 73rd, relieved by the 76th, the latter being one of four regiments raised for the East-India Company, to be supplied with officers in equal proportion from His Majesty's and the Company's half-pay officers.

New-modelling the Army

In 1795 an order for new-modelling the army was received from England, by which the artillery was formed into three battalions of seven companies each, having one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major; seven captains, seven captain-lieutenants, fourteen lieutenants, and fourteen lieutenant fire-workers. To the engineers one colonel and one captain was added. At the same time five out of the six regiments of European infantry were reduced, and one regiments of 1,000 formed, of ten companies, having one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, seven captains, twelve lieutenants, and eight ensigns. The thirty-six battalions were formed into twelve regiments of two battalions, each regiment having one colonel, two lieuenant-colonels, two majors, seven captains, one captain-lieutenant, twenty-two lieutenants, and eight ensigns: the officers to rise in their

respective regiments to the rank of major, and after that in the line.

It was at the same time resolved to increase the army by a body of regular cavalry. There had been for some years two corps of Natives, about one hundred and eight each, commanded by captains with two subalterns to each, drawn from the infantry; and taking these as the nucleus, four regiments of six troops each, and sixty men a troop was formed upon them: having to each regiment one lieutenant-colonel, one major, two captains, one captain-lieutenant, six lieutenants and six comets, with a full colonel to every two regiments.

Great Promotions and New Raisings

The orders issued for the new organisation produced great promotion in all the ranks of the army, all that were then colonels being promoted to the rank of major-general, the number of which in a few years was increased to forty; but four only were appointed on the staff of the Bengal Presidency, where there were two officers of His Majesty's service of the rank of major-general also appointed on the staff, although there was at that time only one regiment of foot, the 76th, at that Presidency, to which was added, in 1797, the 27th regiment of dragoons.

The major-generals on the staff had an aide-de-camp and major of brigade attached to them; and at the same time were added to the general staff of army an adjutant-general and a quartermaster-general, officers in His Majesty's service, the general staff of the Bengal army still remaining as before stated; but from the peculiar constitution of that army the staff were retained on the strength of regiments, and military paymasters were appointed.

I have omitted to mention, that in 1795 a marine battalions was raised, and soon after detached on service to the islands; and the following additions to the Native infantry followed the new organizations in rapid succession.

In 1797, shortly after arrival of Lord Mornington as Governor-General, in contemplation of the war which soon followed with Tippoo Sultan, two regiments, the 13th and 14th, were raised.

In 1798, three regiments, the 15th, 16th, and 17th, were raised.

In 1800, two regiments, the 18th and 19th, were raised.

In 1802, another marine battalion was raised, and, added to the former, were together numbered the 20th regiment.

In 1803, war with Scindia and the Nagpore Rajah being unavoidable, three regiments, the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd, were raised.

In 1804, Holkar having joined the confederacy, four regiments, 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th, were raised.

In 1815, being then engaged in war with Nepaul, three regiments, the 28th, 29th, and 30th, were raised.

In 1823, four regiments, the 31st, 32nd, 33rd, and 34th, were raised. The cavalry, within the same period, had been increased to ten regiments, and the artillery to four battalions.

In 1824, orders were sent to new-model the army of Bengal, giving to each regiment of cavalry one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, five captains, ten lieutenants, and five ensigns; converting the artillery into nine battalions; three of horse and six of foot; the engineers to be formed into two battalions; the European regiment into two regiments, and the thirty-four regiments of Native infantry into sixty-eight, each of the same strength as to officers as that of the cavalry regiments: thus adding to the cavalry five colonels, ten captains, and twenty lieutenants and reducing ten majors, and ten comets; adding to the artillery five colonels, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, eighteen captains, and reducing twenty-seven captain-lieutenants; adding to the infantry thirty-five colonels, seventy captains, thirty-five ensigns, and reducing sixty-eight lieutenants. Subsequent to the Burmese war, six volunteer battalions, which were raised on that occasion, have been formed into regiments, and embodied with the rest to No. 74. Such have been the alterations and increase in the Bengal army between 1756 and 1832.

In the year 1830, there were extra corps, staff appointments or departments, the duties of which were performed by officers withdrawn from the Native service.

ARMY OF MADRAS PRESIDENCY

The general history of the Native army of Fort St. George is short. Sepoys were first disciplined on that establishment in 1748; they were at that period, and for some time afterwards, in independent companies, under subadars or Native captains. Mahomed Esof, one of the most distinguished of those officers, rose by his talents and courage to the general command of the whole; and the name of this hero, for such he was, occurs almost as often in the page of the English historian of India as that of Lawrence and Clive. As the numbers of the Native army increased, the form changed. In A.D. 1766 we find ten battalions of 1,000 men each, and three European officers to each corps. In 1770, there were eighteen battalions of similar strength, and in 1784 the number of this army had increased to 2,000 Native cavalry and 28,000 infantry; a considerable reduction was made at this period, but subsequent wars and conquests have caused great increase, and in 1826 the effective strength of the Native army of Fort St. George consists of eight regiments of cavalry, and twenty-four regiments or forty-eight battalions of Native infantry. There were besides several troops of horse artillery, some battalions of gun lascars, and a very large invalid establishment.

Cavalry Raised by Carnatic Nabob

The Native cavalry of Fort St. George was originally raised by the Nabob of the Carnatic. The first corps embodied into a regiment under the command of European officers, on the suggestion of General Joseph Smith, served in the campaign of 1768 in Mysore. From 1771 to 1776 the cavalry

force was greatly augmented, but then again declined both in numbers and efficiency. The proportion that was retained nominally in the service of the Nabob, but actually in that of the Company, served in the campaigns of 1730, 1781, 1782, and 1783, and was formally transferred, with the European officers attached to it to the Company's service in 1784. The prospect of fortune which the liberality of an Indian prince offered, attracted to this corps many active and enterprising European officers, and the favour which a Native court extended to its choicest troops filled the ranks of its regiments of regular cavalry with the prime of the Mahomedan youth of the Carnatic. When this corps was in the service of the Nabob of the Carnatic, though it was often very highly distinguished, the intrigues of a venal court and irregular payments caused frequent mutinies. Since it has been transferred to the Company's establishment, a period of more than thirty years, its career has been one of faithful service and of brilliant achievement, unstained by any example, that I can recollect, of disaffection or of defeat. The two severest trials of the courage and discipline of this corps were at Assaye and Vellore; in both these services they were associated with the 19th dragoons.

Subadar's Pride Hurt

In the campaign of 1791, when Secunder Beg, one of the oldest subadars of the Native cavalry, was riding at a little distance in the flank of his troop, two or three horsemen of Tippoo's army, favoured by some brushwood, came suddenly upon him; the combat had hardly commenced when the son of the subadar, who was a havildar or serjeant in the same regiment, flew to his father's aid and slew the foremost of his opponents, the others fled; but nothing could exceed the rage of the old man at his son's conduct; he put him instantly under a guard, and insisted upon his being brought to condign punishment for quitting his ranks without leave. It was with the greatest difficulty that Colonel Floyd, who commanded the force, could reconcile him to the disgrace he conceived he had suffered (to use his own expression) from his enemy "being taken from him by a presumptuous boy in front of his regiment."

Shaikh Moheedeen, a subadar of the bodyguard of Madras, who was one of the first officers appointed to the corps of Native horse artillery, recently raised on that establishment, accompanied me to Persia, and was left with a detachment of his corps, under the command of Captain Lindsay, to aid in instructing the Persians in military tactics. This small body of men and their gallant European commander were engaged in several campaigns in Georgia, and their conduct has obtained not only for the subadar, but for all the men of his party, marked honours and reward, both from the Persian Government and their own. Their exertions received additional importance from the scene on which they acted, for it is not easy to calculate the future benefits which may result from the display of the superior courage and discipline of the Native soldiers of India on the banks of the Araxes.

The Native infantry of Madras is generally composed of Mahomedans and Hindoos of good caste: at its first establishment none were enlisted but men of high military tribes. In the progress of time a considerable change took place, and Natives of every description were enrolled in the service. Though some corps that were almost entirely formed of the lowest and most despised races of men obtained considerable reputation, it was feared their encouragement might produce disgust, and particularly when they gained, as they frequently did, the rank of officers. Orders were in consequence given to recruit from none but the most respectable classes of society, and many consider the regular and orderly behaviour of these men as one of the benefits which have resulted from this system.

Firm Allegiance

I find in the Madras Native army many instances of unconquerable attachment to the service to which they belong. Among these none can be more remarkable than that of Syud Ibrahim, commandant of the Tanjore cavalry, who was made prisoner by Tippoo Sultaun in 1781. The character of this distinguished officer was well known to his enemy, and the highest rank and station were offered to tempt him to enter into the employment of the State of Mysore. His steady refusal occasioned his being treated with such rigour, and was attended, as his fellow-prisoners (who were British officers) thought, with such danger to his life, that they, from a generous feeling, contemplating his condition as a Mahomedan and a Native of India as in some essential points different from their own, recommended him to accept the offers of the Sultaun; but the firm allegiance of Syud Ibrahim would admit of no compromise, and he treated every overture as an insult. His virtuous resolution provoked at last the personal resentment of Tippoo, and when the English prisoners were released in 1784, the commandant was removed to a dungeon in the mountain fortress of Couley Droog, where he terminated his existence. His sister, who had left her home, the Carnatic, to share the captivity of her brother, was subsequently wounded in the storming of Seringapatam. She, however, fortunately, recovered, and the Government of Fort St. George granted her a pension of fifty-two pagodas and a half per month, per annum, being the full pay of a Native commandant of cavalry. A tomb was also erected at the place where Syud Ibrahim died, and Government endowed it with an establishment sufficient to maintain a fakeer or priest, and to keep two lamps continually burning at the shrine of this faithful soldier.

In 1804, the subsidiary force in the Deccan, commanded by Colonel Haliburton, was inclosed between two rivers, which became suddenly so swollen as to cut of their supplies of provisions. It was a period of general famine, and the communication was cut off with the grain dealers, from whom alone they could expect a supply. All the rice in camp was found to be barely sufficient for five days' allowance, at a very reduced rate, to the European part of the force. Issues to the sepoys were stopped, but while they were left to the scanty subsistence they might be able to procure for

themselves, they were appointed the sole guards over that grain, from all share in which they were from necessity excluded. This duty was performed with the strictest care, and the most cheerful submission. Fortunately the waters subsided, and an ample supply prevented their feeling that extreme of famine, the prospect of which they had contemplated with an attention to discipline and a composure of mind which even astonished those best acquainted with their habits of order and obedience.

Constitution of Company's Army

The constitution of the Company's army has experienced frequent and important alterations. Previously to 1783 all Company's officers were commanded by King's officers of the same rank; an old captain of the Company's service, for instance, was commanded on duty by the youngest captain of the King's. The extreme injustice of this arrangement produced a strong remonstrance from the Company's army assembled in the camp at Cuddalore in 1783; and orders were soon afterwards issued, granting to the Company's officers rank and authority with the King's, according to the dates of their commissions. From this period of time until 1796, the Company's armies had an independent constitution and system of promotion, that was altogether unconnected with the King's service, that produced a high military spirit and an efficient state of discipline, and that would have answered exceedingly well, if there had been no King's troops in the country but the superior relative ranks held by the King's officers gave rise to feelings of jealousy and discontent in the minds of the Company's. During this period of time, that is until 1796, the officers of each branch of the Company's army at every Presidency rose by succession in one general line from ensign to colonel; at Madras, and the Madras army may be taken as a specimen of the other, the infantry consisted in 1796 of four regiments of Europeans, having each one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, ten captains, twelve lieutenants, and eight ensigns; and of thirty-six battalions of sepoys, having each one captain-commandant, six lieutenants, and four ensigns. The infantry was formed into six brigades, having each a lieutenant-colonel and a major. The officers of the infantry accordingly amounted to four colonels, ten lieutenant-colonels, ten majors, seventy-two captains, two hundred and sixty-four lieutenants, and one hundred and seventy-six ensigns, all rising in succession in one general line. This was an independent constitution. There were, it is true, no general officers, and far too few field officers and captains; but the system worked extremely well until the great increase that took place in the number of King's troops, and the number of superior officers attached to them, produced continual supercessions over the Company's. A captain commanding a battalion of 1,000 men was subject to be commanded on duty by a captain commanding a company of Europeans. The King's troops had, it is true no general officers, in India, with exception of the Commanders-in-chief; but still the relative superiority of their rank over the Company's was a serious grievance to the latter.

Remedying the Evil

In order to remedy this evil, a new arrangement was made in 1796 of the Company's armies. The infantry at Madras was formed into two European and twelve Native regiments, the latter of two battalions each, with an establishment of officers, of one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, twenty-two lieutenants, and eight ensigns. A separate establishment of general officers was allowed to each Presidency. The officers, instead of rising as formerly in a general line, were promoted regimentally to the rank of major, and then rose in a general line to the rank of colonel, which they acquired on obtaining a regiment. They were, besides, made eligible to be included in the King's brevet promotion; and indeed the only general officers whom they have ever had, excepting the few at first appointed, have been those made by the King's brevet. This plan, although marked by some anomalies, worked sufficiently well for the Company's officers, because the advantage of obtaining the rank of full colonel with a regiment was in some degree a compensation for the extreme slowness of promotion in comparison with the King's officers, before they arrived at that rank. But in 1805, a change highly injurious to the Company's officers was effected. The King's officers complained of being superceded by the promotion of the company's officers to the rank of colonel, on obtaining their regiments by succession; and it was ordered, that the Company's officers when advanced to regiments should have the rank of lieutenant-colonel-commandant only until they should acquire the rank of colonel by the King's brevet. This arrangement, which still (in 1832) virtually exists, has been extremely detrimental to the Company's army, and makes their promotion to the higher ranks depend alone upon the brevets issued by His Majesty to his own troops; and these brevets, calculated for the wants and circumstances of one army, are frequently unsuitable to the state of the other.

Since 1796, the armies of all the Presidencies have been increased by successive and considerable augmentations; and in 1823, another change was effected in their internal organization and system of promotion. The regiments consisting of two battalions were constituted into separate regiments of a single battalion, with a colonel or lieutenant-colonel-commandant at their head, and the promotion from the junior rank to that of major took place in these separate corps. This was in every view an advantageous arrangement for the officers and the army.

The Staff

The staff at the several Presidencies is extremely well organized, and has received successive improvements. The duties of the adjutant-general and quartermaster-general of the army correspond with those assigned to the same officers in England. The due allotment of duties to these two principal branches of the staff has, however, been only a recent arrangement, as for many years the adjutant-generals at all the Presidencies engrossed the functions appertaining to the Quartermaster-general's

department. There is a commandant of artillery and a chief engineer for the superintendence of the internal details of these arms. An auditor-general, appointed by the Government, and immediately under its orders, is charged with the control of the army accounts, and in general discharges that important duty with great ability. At every Presidency there is a Military Board, analogous in some respects to the Board of Ordnance in England, and composed of the commander-in-chief, the adjutant-general, quartermaster-general, chief engineer, commandant of artillery, and auditor-general, for the superintendence of the supply, distribution, and custody of the military, ordnance, and provision stores. The Commissariat department has acquired great efficiency during the last few years. Formerly, in time of peace, the paymasters in the several districts, who were civil servants, were employed in furnishing the cattle, provisions, and certain descriptions of military stores required for the use of the troops in marches, or service in the interior. When a general war took place, separate commissaries were appointed to the Cattle, the Provisions, and the Ordnance departments. Those officers, without previous experience, or establishments of well-trained servants, found great difficulties in the execution of their duties; and the military operations were exposed to, and often suffered, great disasters, from the inefficiency of the system under which they acted. Since the introduction of a separate and permanent Commissariat establishment for peace and war, a degree of activity hitherto unknown has been imparted to this important branch of the service; and the rapidity of the movements of the troops during the last Mahratta war affords a proof of the goodness of the principles by which it is regulated. In the several divisions of the army suitable staff establishments are attached; and the whole of the arrangement of this department seem to be efficient and satisfactory.

Distribution of Army

The distribution of the army has been directed by just views, in conformity to the nature of the country, and to the changes effected in our situation by the conquests and acquisitions of territory that have been made. At Madras, the army is formed into divisions; at the principal stations bodies of troops are maintained in a state of readiness to act with promptitude against internal commotion, or to join the rest of the disposable forces in the event of a general war. These remarks apply chiefly to the local distribution of the army with respect to the internal service of the several Presidencies but there is another and more important view of the distribution of our military force in all India, considered as a whole. The actual state of our political and military power in India renders it requisite to regard our defence of that country as a whole, and to regulate the distribution of our forces accordingly; for whatever serious danger might threaten any one point must necessarily be repelled by the combined effort of the whole of our disposable force. The distribution of our armies should be regulated on the principle of enabling us to collect the greatest possible mass of force with the greatest possible expedition at any given point. In

this view the central position of the Madras army gives it great advantages; for the mass of its force could be moved to either of the extremities of our line of defence in half the time that would be occupied in moving a force from one extremity to the other. This applies especially to the defence of the coast, but it applies also to the defence of the extreme northern frontier; for the Madras troops, if they could not arrive there as soon as those in the Upper Provinces of Bengal and Bombay, could at least replace the latter, and render them more available for instant movement.

ARMY OF BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

It was at Bombay that the first Native corps were disciplined by the English. Regular sepoys are noticed in the account of the transactions of that part of India some time before they were embodied at either Madras or Bengal. A corps of one hundred sepoys from Bombay, and four hundred from Tellicherry, is mentioned as having joined the army at Madras in A.D. 1747, and a company of Bombay sepoys, which had gone with troops from Madras to Bengal, were present at the victory of Plassey. The sepoys at Bombay continued long in independent companies, commanded by subadars or Native captains. As the possessions and political relations of that settlement were enlarged, its army increased. The companies were formed into battalions under European officers; and during the war with the Mahrattas, A.D. 1780, we find the establishment consisting of fifteen battalions. These, at the termination of the war with Tippoo, 1783, were reduced to six, and one battalion of marines. In 1788, its numbers were augmented to twelve battalions. In 1796, it was reformed into an establishment of four regiments, of two battalions each, from which it has been progressively raised, by the acquisition of territory and subsidiary alliances, to its present establishment of nine regiments of Native infantry, of two battalions each, one battalion of marines, and a small corps of Native cavalry.

The men of the Native infantry of Bombay are of a standard very near that of Madras. The lowest size taken is five feet three inches, and the average is five feet six inches, but they are robust and hardy, and capable of enduring great fatigue upon very slender diet.

Bombay Army Composed of All Classes

This army has, from its origin to the present day, been indiscriminately composed of all classes, Mahomedans, Hindoos, Jews and some few Christians. Among the Hindoos, those of the lowest tribes of Mahratta and the Purwarrie, Soortee and Frost sects, are much more numerous than the Rajpoots and higher castes. Jews have always been favourite soldiers in this army, and great numbers of them attain the rank of commissioned officers. It is probably owing to the peculiar composition, and to the local situation of the territories in which they are employed, that the sepoys of Bombay have at all periods been found ready to embark on

foreign service. They are, in fact, familiar to the sea, and only a small proportion of them are incommoded in a voyage by those privations to which others are subject from prejudices of caste. But this is only one of the merits of the Bombay Native soldier: he is patient, faithful, and brave, and attached in a remarkable degree to his European officers. There cannot be a class of men more cheerful under privation and difficulties; but desertion in early stages, is very frequent among the recruits of this army.

In 1797, the Bombay army consisted of the following corps viz. one European regiment, eight Native infantry regiments of two battalions each, a Native marine battalion, available for general service, with a battalion of artillery and corps of engineers amounting in the whole to 18,000 men and upwards. The establishment thus possessed a respectable numerical force when compared with its limited extent of territory, which was then confined to the provinces of Malabar and Canara, the islands of Bombay and Selsette, and, 1 believe, a small district in the neighbourhood of Surat. Since the year 1803, repeated augmentations have been made to the army, which at present consists of a brigade of horse and two battalions of foot artillery, three regiments of Native cavalry and one European, and twenty-six regiments of Native infantry of one battalion each; but the complement of Native corps is at present so much reduced, and the actual strength of the army so little increased, that there can be but a very small body of troops disposable for emergencies, after making a reasonable allowance for the garrisons and out-posts throughout the establishment. The following appears to be the present distribution of the army. In the Deccan, that is to say, in the Poona, Sattarah, Sholapore, and Ahmednuggur districts are stationed one regiment of cavalry and five of infantry. These troops are scattered over a wide tract of country, and there is consequently not more than a single regiment at any one station; with the exception of Poona, where a small force is collected, consisting of two Native battalions, in addition to a regiment of dragoons and one of infantry of His Majesty's troops. In Guzerat there are one cavalry, one European and five Native infantry regiments, three of which latter corps are stationed at Baroda and one at Ahmedabad, the remainder being cantoned at Deesa, a station on the north-west frontier. Four Native infantry regiments are stationed in the Southern Mahratta districts, of which two are at Kulladgee, one cavalry and three infantry regiments in Kattywar, three infantry regiments in Candeish, two in the Concan, two in Bombay garrison, and two in Cutch, complete the number of regular regiments composing the Bombay army.

British Model

The organization of these troops is modelled on that of the British army, each regiment being divided into companies, with a complement of European and Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and regimental staff. The only peculiarity in the constitution of Native regiments is, that of Native commissioned officers, under the designation of subadars and jemadars, who rank below all European officers, and are selected from

those havildars or serjeants considered best qualified for promotion. This class of men possess but little influence in their corps, the men being taught to look for promotion exclusively to their European officers; the rank, however, is useful as holding forth the strongest inducement for good behaviour throughout the inferior gradations, but as further incentive ceases on attaining the rank of jemadar, it is found that few Native officers long retain the active and zealous qualities that contributed to their advancement.

The employment and designation of the general staff are similar to that of the British army, nor does the system of conducting the departments of the adjutant or quartermaster-general appear to require any alteration whatever. With regard to the Commissariat department, I can only vouch for its efficiency, of which I have had most convincing proofs on field service, but of its economical merits, or the manner in which its details are conducted. I am unable to speak from personal experience; on these points, however, there can be no difficulty in obtaining the fullest information, as there are many officers of that department now in England, particularly Lieutenant-colonel Bellasis, late Commissary-general at Bombay, and Colonel Hull, formerly Deputy Commissary-general to the Deccan division of the army. The Ordnance and Store department is exceedingly well supplied and conducted.

Exemplary Fidelity

During the progress of the war with France, subsequent to 1803, several parties of the marine battalions of Bombay sepoys were captured on board of the Company's cruisers and carried to the Isle of France, where they were treated in a manner that reflects no credit upon the local government of the island, when the Isle of France was captured, they met with that notice which they had so well merited. The Government of Bombay granted to every individual who survived his captivity a silver medal, as a memorial of the sense which it entertained of his proved fidelity and attachment.

Four years ago, when the commanding officer of a battalion on the Bombay establishment was proceeding along the Banks of a ravine, with eight or ten men of his corps, to search for some lions, which had been seen near the cantonment of Kaira, in Guzerat, a royal tiger suddenly sprang upon him. The ground gave way, and the tiger and Major Hull rolled together to the bottom of the ravine. Though this fall prevented the latter from being killed by the first assault, still his fate seemed certain and those who know, from having witnessed it, the terror which the attack of this fierce animal inspires, can only appreciate the character of that feeling which led every sepoy who was with him to rush at once to his succour. The tiger fell under their bayonets, though not before it had wounded two of the assailants most desperately; one having lost his leg, and the other been so lacerated as to be rendered unfit for future service as a soldier. These wounds, however, were deemed trivial by those who sustained them,

when they saw that the officer whom they loved had escaped unhurt from his perilous situation.

In 1797, Captain Packenham, in his Majesty's ship 'Resistance', accompanied by some small vessels of war belonging to the Company, took possession of Copong, the chief Dutch settlement on the Eastern Isle of Timor. Lieutenant Frost, of the Bombay marine, commander of the Intrepid cruiser, who was to be appointed Governor of Copong, had taken a house on shore, where he expected Captain Packenham to meet the Dutch Governor, and make arrangements for the future administration of the place. The Malays had formed a plan, by which it was settled that the moment Captain Packenham landed to attend this meeting, they were to rise and murder all the Englishmen on shore. Fortunately something occurred to induce Captain Packenham to defer his visit; but he sent his boat, and its reaching the beach was the signal for the commencement of the massacre. Nearly twenty persons were slain. A large party had rushed to Lieutenant Frost's house. The head of his surgeon had been struck off, and his own destruction seemed inevitable, when two sepoys of the Bombay marine battalion, whom he had landed from his vessel, exclaimed to him, "Save yourself by flight, we will fight and die" at the same time exposing themselves to the fury of their assailants, and giving their commander time to escape to a boat. The sepoys, after a resistance as protracted as they could render it, were slain, and their heads, exposed on pikes, explained their fate to their lamenting companions on board the Intrepid. Captain Packenham took prompt and ample vengeance of this treachery; he opened a heavy fire upon the place, under which he landed an efficient force, which defeated the Malays, who fled after losing 200 men.

6

India: Its Heritage and its Army

India has a glorious past when in ancient times the culture, the art, the trade, the society and even the military science were at their great heights. How this excellence degenerated into weaknesses and how the adventurous Britishers backed by the European Industrial Revolution gained military ascendency over the Indians is given in the following articles. The resulting military organisation, when two such conservative systems as the British and the Indian came together, was, however, evolutionary and not revolutionary. *(Ed.)*

A—THE MILITARY HERITAGE[1]

The whole of Hindu public monuments, religious and profane, represent the image of war, and all their histories are filled with military details. The caste of Kshatriya, or Kings, and that of Rajputras, or descendants of Kings, were at one time the exclusive possessors of political authority and government in the various regions of India; and to them the trade of war exclusively belonged. No others had a right to enrol themselves in the profession of arms and partake the rule of government.

Great Change in Old Military Customs

The Hindu customs have undergone a great change in this particular. The ambition of conquerors has overstepped and subverted those primitive rules of their institution. At present there are few kings to be seen of that caste, from which, in right of birth, they ought all to spring. In India, as well as every where else, territory becomes the inheritance of the strongest, and in most of the provinces of base extraction have, by boldness or cunning, raised themselves to the throne. The right of bearing arms, which, in early times, belonged only to the Rajputras, is now universal; and all castes, from the Brahmans down to the Pariahs, may now become soldiers. Sometimes, Brahmans are found commanding armies, and sometimes, particularly in the Maharatta service, standing in the ranks.

Inferior Art of War

Until the era of the modern invasions, by those fierce and sanguinary conquerors, who, at the head of their warlike and barbarous hordes, passed the mountains of the north to lay waste the fertile and peaceful provinces of India, inundating them with the innocent blood of a harmless race, whose undefended territories they usurped as lawful spoil; until then, the art of war was but in its infancy in India, and the same as it had been for three thousand years. The feeble resistance they made to those ferocious conquerors who so unworthily used the right of the sword, and who, (a thousand times worse than the swarms of locusts) carried desolation and death wherever they directed their course, sufficiently proves the inferiority of the Hindu in military discipline and art of war.

Types of War

Their wars are of three sorts: those of fabulous times, those of the ancient Kings, and those of modern date. In speaking of the last, I must premise that I profess to treat only of such as were carried on by the princes of the country with each other, before the experience of European tactics and skill.

Wars of Fabulous Times

I do not at all touch upon the fabled wars of their gods, with each other, or against the giants, which are so tediously given in their books; because they are entitled to no more attention than a sick person, in a fit of delirium. They would introduce us to armies of giants, whose heads reached the stars, riding an elephants of a size adequate to their high stature. One of them will appear putting his shoulders under the firmament and lifting it up. Then, with awful concussion, he overturns the gods who dwell there, and shews that he is capable of doing and what they have to fear. In the same style, a god goes forth to combat a giant, makes the earth his chariot, the rainbow his bow, and Vishnu his arrow. He discharges this tremendous shaft, and, at one stroke, utterly overwhelms an immense city, in which the giants, his enemies, were intrenched, and are now all buried in the ruins. It would be easy for me to bring forward a thousand fooleries of this sort; which I have read in Hindu books, but they could answer no other purpose than to disgust the reader, and to prove that their poets are the most senseless of mortals.

Wars of Ancient Times

The history of the wars of the ancient Kings of India is scarcely less extravagant than the other, and deserves no greater attention. It is not composed, in sober prose by historians, but by wild poets in enthusiastic verse; who, in this and in every thing besides, follow the bias of their disordered imagination. What truth can be described through the thick veil of their fable. The million of soldiers whom Xerxes conducted for the overthrow of Greece, are but a handful, when compared with the almost

innumerable hosts of warriors that composed the armies of the ancient Princes of India. But there is nothing wonderful in such impostures, when we advert to the incurable tendency of the Hindus to every kind of extravagance, whether in their narration, in conversation, in civil affairs, in religious opinions, or in any other circumstance of life.

Four Arms

But there is one thing connected with this subject, that is not fabulous; which is, that their armies were made up of four arms,[2] which the Hindus express by the word Chatur-angram. These four were elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry. United, they composed a complete army.[3] This mode of constructing an Indian army subsisted at the time of the invasion of Alexander the great. It was followed in the Army of Porus, who was subdued and taken prisoner by that great conqueror. Quintus Curtius remarks that, in the line of battle, there were arranged eighty-five elephants, three hundred chariots, and thirty thousand infantry. He does not enumerate the cavalry of the Indian King, but he afterwards alludes to it in his narrative.

Origin of the Game of Chess

What we have said of the four divisions of the ancient Indian armies, may serve to fix the origin of the game of chess: which has been the subject of so many disputes and researches, I believe it is generally admitted to be a military game. The Hindus, who play this game as we do, with some slight variations, call it Chatur-angam, an army of four arms. At the two opposite sides of the chess board they plant the elephants, which transported on their backs. But these advantages, and others which might be mentioned, are greatly overbalanced by the expense of their keeping.

The chariots are the next department of the ancient armies of India. They appear to have been very numerous and of vast size. All the principal officers rode in them, and that of King was particularly splendid.

Cavalry formed the third division of the Hindu army. Their strength, however, did not consist in that arm, their whole dependence being on the foot. The Moguls and Mahratas, who till lately, were the two principal powers who disputed the mastery, in many long, obstinate, and bloody wars, sometimes brought, on each side, upwards of a hundred thousand horse into the field. The Mahrata Princes, if united, could make a muster of three hundred thousand.[4]

Defects in Military System

But they have never been able to bring forward any thing like this immense number of combatants; because they knew scarcely anything of the military art. They are wholly devoid of the skill by which large masses of men are moved, without confusion or trouble; and they think they have done everything when they have got together an immense and indiscriminate multitude, without order, and acting in the field from individual impulse and at random.

The General has under him a great number of chiefs, who command such horse troops as they can raise upon pay. Each man brings his own horse, and receives certain wages for himself and beast, which he keeps at his own expense; and when it dies or is lost, he also is dismissed from the service. This method of recruiting their armies is extremely prejudicial to the enterprize of the soldier; because of the great object of his care being to serve the horse, upon the safety of which his own bread depends, he is already ready to make his escape, when any real danger appears.

Undisciplined Soldiers

In these armies, desertion is very frequent; nor are the deserters either strictly sought after or severely punished. What they chiefly depend upon as a preventive, is to keep up a good arrear of pay; which compels the soldier to remain at his colours or to relinquish what he has earned. Sometimes, indeed, they mutiny in such cases, and arrest their General, or threaten him with the sabre: all which he is obliged to put up with, without blaming, far less punishing, the agitators. He reconciles them, in the best way he is able, by giving them acknowledgements at least of the debt; and the same slippery service is renewed. Troops so undisciplined and mercenary cannot be expected to be very courageous; but marks of valour are often seen in their leaders.

Weapons of the Cavalry

The Moorish and Mahrata cavalry are armed with lances and arrows; to which some of them add the musquet. Many have a wretched sabre, and a great number cerry cataris or daggers. Several have no other armour than the whip or rod, with which they push on their steed. Each individual provides his own horse and arms; and there is nothing like uniformity in their weapons or accoutrements.

Infantry—the Most Numerous Part

Infantry, however, were more esteemed among the Kings of antiquity; then forming the fourth order of their military establishment. It was then the most numerous part, and what was relied on in their battles. And still it constitutes to this day the only strength of the little Princes of the Country known commonly under the name of Poligars.

Poligars

These Poligars, who may be compared, in several respects, with the Barons of France and England during the thirteenth century, who from their lofty castles and towers could brave and insult the royal authority, which they often found means to bridle and subdue, are very numerous in various provinces of India. The confined and barren territory, possessed by the Poligars, not being adequate to their maintenance and that of their horde, they keep a great number of robbers and plunderers in their employment, whom they send out, from time to time, in the night, to the neighbouring

country; from which they return with their booty, and share it with their masters.[5] The arms of these chiefs, and of those they have in their service, are bows and arrows, spears, and match-lock guns. They are utterly ignorant of regular battle or of maintaining a contest in the open field; but, when pursued, they betake themselves to their thick woods or steep rocks, where they endeavour to decoy the enemy into some narrow defile, suited to their active and desultory attacks. It was not without penetrating into the heart of their forests, and after great labour and loss, that the English succeeded in laying hold of their leaders, and establishing in their territory a state of order and tranquility, which they had never known before.

Proper Supply Organisation Lacking

Castrametation is as little understood by the Hindu Generals as the order of fighting. In their march, and encampment, there is the utmost confusion. When it is necessary for the army to halt, the great object attend to is the facility of obtaining water. A large supply is not everywhere to be found, particularly at certain times of the year, and whole armies have been reduced to the utmost extremity of distress by being deprived, even for a short time, on an article of such indispensable necessity in a burning climate.

The wasteful Indians scarcely know what it is to form a magazine, or to have convoys of provisions; trusting wholly to their foraging parties to supply their wants. And, so effectually is this done, the numbers of purveyors follow the armies buying at a cheap rate, from the soldiers, the goods and property pillaged in the march, which they bring regularly to the market. On the other hand, when their march lies through a country already laid waste, these dealers follow their oxen laden with provisions.

The most abominable profligacy exists in all their armies, but particularly among the Moors.[6] The persons, who so devote themselves, have separate quarters which are perfectly well known, and not less frequented. The General makes them an object of revenue.

Magicians and Fortune-tellers as Attendants

Among the followers of the camp there are numbers of mountebanks, all sorts of magicians, soothsayers and fortune-tellers, rope-dancers, slight of hand men, sharpers, thieves, faquirs, blind beggars, and in short so many useless mouths that they out-number the effective soldiers. Besides, every soldier is accompanied by his whole family; so that an army of twenty or five and twenty thousand soldiers, is attained by a train of two or three hundred thousand other individuals; whose chief employment it is to take advantage of the confusion which reigns in a camp, and to addict themselves to plunder and every other sort of licence. The Mahratas are not so subject to this evil, because it is not so easy to keep up with them in the forced marches they are accustomed to make.

Army Chiefs Accompanied by Wives or Concubines

The tents of the chiefs, particularly amongst the Moors, are large and commodious, suited to the taste for luxury and voluptuousness which characterises the Asiatic Princes. They are filled with superb and useless finery, and divided into several apartments, of which some are for their wives or concubines, by whom they are always attended.[7] In the midst of the tumult of camps, a Hindu Prince never forgets anything that can administer to his appetites or enervate his courage. To take any army of this sort by surprise, is no difficult operation; for they keep no outposts. Their spies in the enemy's camp, in some measure, make up for the defect, by apprising their friends, when they perceive any extraordinary movement of the enemy, and so putting them on their guard. Assaults by night are but rare, the parties being more disposed to enjoy their own slumber than to disturb that of their enemies.

In general, it is held a point of honour in the commander of a town, never to surrender at the first summons, however inconsiderable and defenceless the place may be, and however, powerful the army that attacks it; let the terms proposed for capitulation be ever so reasonable. To surrender under such circumstances, would bring public disgrace upon the sovereign; and all the world consider it an act of treason on the part of the governor.

Sorcery Practised in Attack and Defence

One method of taking a fortress, very much practised, is that of incantation. The besiegers employ magicians and sorcerers, who exert all the power of their wicked arts to paralyze the exertions of the besieged, and to make their leader fall. He, again, puts contrary spells in operation, fit to counteract these mechanisation, or even, of so potent a nature as to aim at the total destruction of the besieging army. I know that, since I have been in India, all this has been practised; with what advantage to either party, I leave to the reader to imagine.

Impregnable Castles

The most considerable of their ancient places of strength are the forts[8] and the castles[9] mostly built on mountains of steep rock and other strategic places; many of which appear impregnable. They are called Durgas, and are seen in great numbers in that part of India which is most hilly. We find in Quints Curtius a description of one of those Durgas called Aornus, on the banks of the Indus, which stood out against Alexander, and which he was unable to take until abandoned by the garrison.

Weapons of Hindustan

The Hindus have thirty-two different kinds of weapons, each of which has a particular name and description in their books. Models of them are also to be seen in the hands of the images of their principal gods. Each of the thirty-two gods has his own peculiar weapon. Some are edged

for hacking, some pointed for the thrust, and others obtuse and weighty for the purpose of confusion. Among the defensive, are the helmet and the shield. The latter is the more common, and is made of leather, studded with nails, with large found heads; and is generally about two feet in diameter.

Some Hindu soldiers, instead of a cuirass, wear a kind of thick and quilted jackets; a sort of armour greatly in use amongst the Hebrews of old, and other ancient people. They were made with great art, and could ward off the blows of cutting instruments; and the same advantage is attributed to those of the Hindus: but they certainly are not impenetrable to musket-shot and I cannot imagine that any advantage they afford can be at all equivalent to the inconvenience they occasion in sultry climates.

The most common weapon of offence, in ancient times, was the bow and arrow. It is still practised with skill and effect. Their arrows are small, not being more than two or two and a half feet long. The bows do not exceed that length, although their fables make those of their gods to be of a prodigious sweep. It is stated that the bow of Rama was carried with difficulty by fifty thousand men.

The favourite weapon of Vishnu is the Chakram; which is a round or circular machine, of which many devotees of the God bear the emblem, imprinted on their shoulders with hot iron. It is still used in some places, and is nothing more than a large circular plate of iron, the outer edge of which is made very sharp. Through the centre a shaft passes, by means of which a rotatory motion is given to the plate, which whirls with great rapidity, and cuts whatever it approaches. I am inclined to believe, that neither this, nor several other weapons that I have seen represented in the hands of the idols, are at all used in any other nation.

Another species, very much in use among all the Hindu Princes, is a sort of large rocket, hooped with iron, and eight or ten inches long. They fire it in a horizontal position, and employ it chiefly in spreading confusion and disorder amongst the cavalry. They wound whatever they approach; and some emit a crescent of fire, which makes them exceedingly dangerous. In general, they do not make so loud a report as our hand-grenades, but they have a more extensive range.

Fire Works, an Ancient Art—Not Used for Military Purposes

From the Hindu books, it appears that the use of these fire-works, which are called Vana or Bana, is very ancient. Mention is made in the Ramayana of the Vana or Rocket of Rama, as one of his principal missiles. The Vana is also one of the thirty-two species of arms enumerated by the ancient Hindus; which is a proof that the use of gunpowder was not unknown to them, at an early period; for, without that material, it would be impossible to charge the rockets, which from the oldest times to the present day, have been employed by this people. Besides, the knowledge and practice of the various sorts of fire-works known in Europe, must have been of ancient date amongst the Hindus; since there are some castes, whose ordinary, and sometimes only occupation, has always been the

making of such preparations of gunpowder. It is probable that the Europeans have borrowed the art from them. But it is certain that they possessed it before the period of the modern invasions of the Christian and Muhammadan powers; which evidently establishes the invention of gunpowder, among them, to have preceded its discovery in Europe by many centuries. At the same time it appears that the Hindus were not formerly acquainted with the destructive effects of this powerful agent, when strongly compressed in metallic tubes. It was reserved to the Europeans to instruct in this deplorable and pernicious science. For, till the invasions from Europe, the people of India made no use of gunpowder, but for pleasure and amusement. Their invaders taught them its murderous qualities.

Besides several of the ancient instruments peculiar to the nation the Hindus have lately adopted the lance, the dagger, and the sabre. The last is now their favourite weapon. They have masters of defence who teach the art, and they practise it very gracefully. But these arms are not often stained with the blood of an enemy. The musket has also become a favourite amongst them, although in their hands, it is not very fatal. Till lately, they had only matchlocks, and their powder has been always very bad. The Hindu armies are never exercised in firing. Their Princes think it a useless expence to waste powder in any other way than in the field of battle.

Miserable Artillery

Of late, the European have provided them with pieces of cannon, of brass and cast iron. Indians had iron cannon before, but they were composed of separate bars, fastened together, and of an enormous calibre; and, with this miserable artillery, they shot stone balls of more than a foot in diameter. They did not understand any way of pointing them but horizontally. Their ignorance of the European mode of serving the artillery was often the cause of many of them loosing their lives. I have read, in a manuscript written here about sixty years ago, that, about that time, the Raja of Tanjore for some grudge having declared war against the Dutch, sent a considerable body of troops to take the fort of Negapatam. Some cannon shots were fired upon them from thence without taking effect. The King's troops, remarking that the bullets went high over their heads, advanced to the glacis, thinking they had nothing to fear from the artillery of their enemies. But the Dutch, taking the opportunity of their near approach, loaded their guns with grape-shot, and, taking a good aim, threw the whole army into disorder, and taught them, to their cost, how easy it was to change the direction of a cannon.

B—SOME MILITARY TRADITIONS[10]

Annals of Western India

When Napoleon Buonaparte invaded Egypt he harangued his soldiers in the morning of the Battle of the Pyramids by saying, "From

yonder heights forty centuries look down upon your deeds." Does not exactly the same thought spring to our minds when we gaze at Chitorgarh or the massive rock-fortress of Shivaji's Purandar and Simhagarh? The ruthless hand of time throws down men and empires, palaces and triumphal columns; but the soil consecrated by heroes' blood remains an inspiring relic for ever. Lt.-Colonel Tod's *Annals of Rajasthhan* and Captain Grant Duff's *History of the Maharattahs* and many a ballad and story in every Indian language have made the valour and sacrifice of the Rajputs and Marathas a familiar tale even to the illiterate. It is true, though not so widely known, that a similar glory belongs to Saurashtra. All parts of our Western belt can claim—"Wherever we tread, 'tis haunted holy ground"—because the soil and the race are much alike throughout this vast area, differing only in their speech.

As the traveller from the green well watered plains of Bengal and eastern Uttar Pradesh enters Rajasthan or Maharashtra, he is at once struck by the contrast in the landscape. Before him are avoid plateaus or broken soil, the grass and shrubs burnt down to a desert colour by the sun, and brown hills bordering the no distant horizon, with not a touch of Nature's softness anywhere. And the people are worthy of such a soil. Strong and wiry in their muscles, with not an ounce of fat to slacken their movements, extremely simple and frugal in their meals, ever ready to welcome hardship and danger. The Persian historians have given the Rajput the epithet of *marg-dost* or death-loving. The Rajput used to go forth to a battle from which there was no returning except with victory or death, gaily dressed in saffron-dyed robes like a bridegroom decorated for his marriage ceremony. Such a people have the making of soldiers in them by birth and tradition alike.

A Popular Notion

Here I must correct a popular notion. The departed Rulers of India had spread the myth that certain castes and races of India are born warlike and others are non-martial by God's decree; traders and clerks (*banias* and *Kayasthas*), Bengali babus and Kashmiri Pandits are bound to be cowards, unfit for national defence. But what was the true state of Indian society in the pre-British days? Rajputs and Maratha Kshatriyas were then, as they still are fighters, but history has preserved the names of many members of the so-called un-martial castes who fought most gallantly in those days. Shivaji was served by two "writers" Baji Prabhu and Morar Prabhu, who fought to death against superior Muslim forces. That great conqueror himself was successfully opposed for four weeks by a Prabhu widow, Savitri Bai from her mud-fort of Belvadi till she was starved out of it (1678).

Traders as Fighters

In Upper India one hears the trader caste (*bania*) sneered at as un-martial. Rajputana's history records cases of their armies being led into battle and castlès defended for the Rajput *rajahs* by tradesmen (*Oswals*). The

clan-jealousies and family feuds among the component divisions of a Rajput army often made their *rajahs* entrust the supreme charge of a campaign to their *bania* ministers, and these men fought and died like the warriors of the purest Kshatriya blood.

Readers of Rabindranath Tagore's fine ballad on the surrender of Ajmer fort to Sindhia's forces in 1790, know that Dumraj, the Jodhpur Rajah's *qiladar*, committed suicide rather than break his vow never to hand over his master's fort to an enemy in life, and that it was only over his lifeless corpse lying at the fort-gate that Sindhia's troops could enter Ajmer. But how few of these readers know that Dumraj was a *bania* by caste? In Mewar, priests and clerks—Brahmans and Pancholis—had bled in their master's battles.

Fought Outside India

Another myth of the British regime must be exploded here. It used to be said that the caste-ridden Hindus had never fought outside their own country, before British rule. In proof the English used to point out how Indian valour was shown to the outer world when Sikhs and Gurkhas accompanied General Roberts in his famous march from Kabul to Qandahar and aided the Highlanders in capturing Peiwar Kotal and defending the Shutar-gardan pass, how a purely Indian force of Sikh cavalry made the famous dash and captured Cairo after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, and so on. But it is not known except to a few historians that in 1645-47, when the Delhi Emperor invaded Balkh in Central Asia, Rajputs under Jai Singh Kachwa formed part of the fighting vanguard against the Uzbaks and Alaman tribal hordes, and they also guarded the rear amidst incessant snowfall and attack of the Hazaras in crossing the Hindu Kush at the time of the return. A Hada force under Madho Singh garrisoned the fort of Balkh after the capture of that capital (May 1647).

Rajput contingents fought against the Persians in Shah Jahan's sieges of Qandahar fort in 1649-53 and Rajput divisions took a leading part in the fighting near that fort and in the Afghan passes.

Best of all, on February 22, 1674, when a Delhi army under Shujait Khan was encircled by the Afghan tribesmen in the Karapa Pass and that general and thousands of his men were killed, "a band of 500 Rathors sent by Maharajah Jaswant Singh arrived to their rescue; broke the enemy's cordon and brought the remnant of the army back to camp after a long and desperate fight at close quarters. Three hundred of the Rathors sacrificed themselves in this heroic exploit."

Chivalrous Warriors

The Rajputs made war like gentlemen; there was chivalry in their combats and their rules of war were honourable. The Rajput baron (*thakur* or *rawat*) and his followers were bound together like the members of one family; and the humblest retainer made *swamidharma* or devotion to his chief the rule of his conduct.

When at the battle of Merta (1790) Sindhia's army trained and led by De Boigne made havoc with their grape shot among the charging Rathor cavalry of desperadoes clad in yellow and vowed to death (*zard-kapra-walas*), it was found that every fallen Rajput Thakur lay surrounded by the bodies of so many of his feudal retainers, humble Rajput farmers.

Women like Kama Devi had gone forth to battle before the *purda* system settled down with all rigidity upon the higher ranks of Rajput society. So ingrained was the sense of honour among the Rajputs by centuries of warfare that in 1682 when Jani Begam, the favourite daughter-in-law of Emperor Aurangzeb, was attacked by a Maratha army, she inspired her Rajput escort by shouting to their captain Anurudh Singh Hada, *sharm-e-Chaghsaia; ba Rajputia ek-ast*, "The honour of the Mughal imperial family of Delhi is to the Rajputs the same as their own honour." And the appeal did not fail; she was safely cut out of the ring of enemies, though 900 Hada soldiers fell in the attempt.

The march of time eclipsed the glory of the Rajputs in the 19th century, but during the First World War a new chance came, Maharajah Sir Gaj Singh of Bikaner led his camel corps to fight the Empire's battles in the Suez Canal zone.

The fighting spirit of the Marathas also was covered with an extinguisher by British policy for a century after the last Anglo-Maratha war. When Queen Victoria's second son visited India in 1876, a Bengali poet asked him in his ode:

> "The Maratha race, who used to sleep with their swords tied to their belts and their horses tethered near their heads,—where is that race today?"

The answer came in England's sore need for cannon-fodder in the German War of 1914-18. At the village of Ozharda near Satara, I met a Maratha military pensioner (a Jadav by family) who had formed part of the ill-fated garrison of Kut and had been made captive on the fall of that fort. But such was his toughness that he survived the horrors of Turkish prisons, which killed 80 per cent of the surrendering soldiers of Kut.

The martial fire still blazes in the hearts of the Maratha peasantry. It is fed by their folk-tales and ballads. As Mr. Acworth wrote at the end of the 19th century, from personal observation during service in Maharashtra:

> "Over the plains of Deccan, and the deep valleys and bold ridges of the Sahyadris, from village to village the humble minstrel still travels, and still to rapt and excited audiences sings of the great days when the armed fathers of the men around him gave laws at the spear's point to all the princes of India, or retreated wounded and dismayed before the sword of the sea-dwelling stranger."

The Past Glories . . .

So much for the past glories of Western India, a glory shared by all classes of the people. It is a priceless historical legacy for our nation.

In the strategy of Indian defence, Saurashtra forms the hinge and it will receive the first shock of foreign invasion. A study of its future in the light of its past is not an academic exercise but an intensely practical need of India today.

. . . And the Disintegration

This State, known to geographers as the Kathiawad peninsula, covers only 21,062 sq. miles and its population is 41 lakhs (census of 1951), and yet when the State of Saurashtra was inaugurated on April 15, 1948 it represented the integrations of 860 different administrative units, or if we take only its component parts formerly dignified with the title of States even then as many as 221 units. From these figures we can realise the absurd political arrangements of the past, by which an average area of 95 sq. miles (with an average population of 196 souls per sq. mile) formed a separate self-governing sovereign power. But the reality was even worse than this. Deducting the six largest States in the Peninsula, the average size of each of the remaining 215 "States" would be about three miles by two. The imagination is staggered by such a spectacle of political disintegration and military impotence.

The evil effect of territorial fragmentation was aggravated by the medieval form of administration and the feudal order of society there. Certain deplorable features of Saurashtra public life are the inevitable consequences of its past history. With their gaze limited to their own narrow hole, clan hated clan, dynasty warred on dynasty, one locality despised its brethren of the same caste in a neighbouring locality, because the latter was a different "State". Gohils despised Jarejas, Waghels despised Jhalas as lower in grade because less pure in blood!

Ocean Piracy

The worst evil born of the old political disorder was the universal prevalence of lawlessness and violence, the sad legacy of its history. Over much of this peninsula wars between petty rajahs, raid and blackmailing by robber bands, had been the rule for six centuries. The peace and prosperity which one strong and just paramount overlord can bestow upon all its vassals had never been known in Saurashtra before the 19th century had advanced half way. Thus, the populace recognised dacoity as a hereditary profession, civil war was sporadic, and lawlessness was looked upon as a matter of course and not as something exceptional or as a crime against society. Certain tribes (both Hindu and Muslim) lived by ocean piracy from time immemorial and they supplied excellent recruits for the indigenous Maratha navy and also crews for the ocean-going vessels of the 19th century. Integration and orderly government has robbed these lawless classes of their ancestral employment.

National Defence

And free India has need for harnessing the martial spirit and traditions of her western border races to the task of national defence. Look at the map of Saurashtra, this peninsula, surrounded by the sea for three-fourths of a circle, has 800 miles of coastline and six good ports. What a heaven-sent *Point d' appuyi* for a foreign invader by sea, to strike at the very heart of the Indian continent by air!

The cattle-lifters and rebels of the Highlands were turned into the strongest and most faithful defenders of the expanding British empire in the next generation. It was two Highland regiments that enabled Wellington to gain his first famous victory against myriads of enemies at Assaye (1803).

It will be the test of modern India's statesmanship if the martial traditions of Western India can be made to bear such a fruit.

C—THE ARMY AND ITS ORGANISATION[11]

Before going into the subject of modern organizations in India, in order that you may more fully by comparison and admiration grasp the extra-ordinary modern miracle of the British Empire in the East, which forms one of the brightest jewels in His Majesty's Crown, I wish you to consider for a few minutes the past history of the East and the West of the East, as exemplified by the antecedents of those millions over whom we rule in India of the West, as exemplified by our ancestors in the British Isles at the same period.

India's Glorious Past

The history of India before the Aryan invasion (2000 B.C.) is mythical and vague; we know, however, that the Aryans were not the first invaders of Hindustan, for their opposers were not in the first place aboriginal tribes, but a yellow-skinned serpent-worshipping race who had previously obtained Northern India from apparently an aboriginal tribe, dark-skinned and short of stature, supposed to be the ancestors of the Gonds, Bhils, and Santals of Central India.

We need not, however, go back as far as these tribes for comparisons, but let us take India, say, merely 3600 years ago, i.e., about 1700 years before our first Christmas Day. We know from investigations by scientists and explorers, and from written documents in Sanscrit. Babylonic, Chaldaic, and Egyptian figures that 3600 years ago the people of India lived in a state of civilisation with kings and governors over them; that village councils, palaces, temples, tanks, roads, oil factories, potters' wheels, and looms existed; we know that gold, silver, and precious stones adorned temples and places, that kings and "the quality" were clothed in "purple and fine linen," that one of the purest religious that God ever permitted at that time to obtain on earth was taught to the people, namely, the Hindu religion of Brahma.

In those far-distant days, however, when the heads of families taught

the principles of the Vedas (Hymns) they taught the existence of one invisible God, the incarnation of truth and happiness they taught that the Godhead is divided into three persons (Brahma, Vishnu, Siva), and this as an article of Faith admitted of no variation. Just think of it for a moment. At a period prior to the voyage of the Argonauts, or the siege of Troy, when Venus and Mercury were worshipped by Greeks and Trojans, when the Zoroastrians paid their vows to the rising and setting sun, when Saul was King of Israel, and the coming of Our Lord but dimly foreshadowed in the words of Samuel and Job, the One Supreme God was worshipped with rites and ceremonies at Benares, Somnath, Kanuj, Nasik, and Muthra, in the Deccan and in Northern India, in fact everywhere where the Hindu Trinity now holds sway.

Institutes of Menu

Later on we come across the institution of castes and the pure religion of Brahma becomes more and more of a priest-ridden organisation, and in the Institutes of Menu about 1000 B.C. (according to Sir William Jones about 1300 B.C.) we find laws and regulations drawn up which show very much what the priestly caste of Brahmans wished Indian society to become, and which, under their power, it eventually became 500 years later (500 B.C.) A parallel may well be drawn between that period of the Hindu religion and the end of the fifteenth century of Christendom. In the former Gautama Budha fought his battles for purity of faith and gave birth to Buddhism, the religion, though in a form far degraded from that preached by the "Light of Asia," of two-thirds of the inhabitants of the world today. While in the latter (1480-1520 A.D.) men like Erasmus, Luther, and others of the old Catholic Faith worked for practically the same cause.

The Institutes of Menu, although in parts bigoted and narrow-minded, show indisputably that civilisation had for many hundreds of years previous obtained among the people of India. Some of the instructions are certainly quaint. Those regarding matrimony, however, seem on the whole wise and judicious.

Savage and Barbaric England

And where, and what, were we, the heirs of the grandest Empire the world has ever known, doing at that far-distant time? We who now boast of our civilisation and our laws, we who now rule over these 300 millions in India. Had we at that time a pure and simple religion, had we palaces temples and a code of laws, factories and village councils? No, our forebears at that time roamed about the swamps and forests of Britain, their clothes consisting chiefly of paint, with now and then a skin covering. They disputed with wild beasts for their daily bread, they lived in caves and caverns, while pitiless Druids quartered human sacrifices in the sacred groves and offered up the bodies of innocent men and women, aye, and children too, on the altars of Avebury and Stonehenge. In any discussion on India, its people and its Army, it behoves us to remember with pride,

wonder, and gratitude not only the great birthright which has fallen by the will of God and the prowess of our ancestors to our care and keeping, but also the marvellous history of those millions over whom we hold sway, a people not lightly to be classed in a general way as "niggers" as some are prone to do; a people not only akin to ourselves in their Aryan stock, but one who held an honoured place on God's earth at a time when we, the now dominent race, were un-couth savages and barbarians!

Conquests by Foreign Powers

Indian history from the times of Asoka (260 B.C.) to that of Queen Elizabeth, when we first obtained a footing on Indian soil, is a history of invasions and conquests by foreign Powers. Alexander the Great left his mark on the country in 327 B.C., and we still find in the people and in works of art, above and below ground, traces of his inroads into the Punjab (the land of "Five Rivers") and Kashmir. You will doubtless remember the beautiful heads of Pallas Athene that were not long ago dug up at Nowshera and Mardan, as well as Greek coins. Then came the Scythian hordes for a period of 600 years, who in their turn gave way to Arabs (about 664 A.D.), and after them came the first expedition of the historical Mahmood of Ghazni, who, you will remember, in one of his raids carried off the sandal-wood gates of the temple of Somnath, which gates were brought back to India from Ghazni by the British troops in 1842. The invasion of the Moguls followed about 1200 A.D., the outcome of which was the Great Mogul Empire, lasting for four and a half century or more;[12] which in its turn gave way to the Mahrattas,[13] a Hindus power, which later under the Peishwas aided by Scindia, Holkar, and the Gaikwad, rapidly extended their territory and influence. The Sikh power had its birth in the Punjab about 1500.

Beginnings of British India

It was the Mahratta Empire that suffered defeat at the hands of Ahmed Shah, the Afghan, at Panipat in 1761, and eventually opened the way for British influence, which had, however, made a start under the Mogul Emperor Jehangir in 1607. First in the field came Portugal, Spain followed, then Holland, then France, and finally Great Britain.

We are, our Continental friends tell us, a nation of shopkeepers, it is fitting therefore that the seeds of our great Empire in the East should have been sown in 1600 by 125 shopkeepers of London town, who, under the title of "The Company of Merchants of London Trading in the East," obtained a charter from Queen Elizabeth, and eventually, in 1751 (during the period of Mahratta power) obtained that ascendency over the then rising French power in India, which we may call the beginning of British India.

In 1744 there were but two active European forces at work in the East: the French under that heroic and wonderful man Dupleix had obtained enormous influence not only over the Moguls but also over the whole of the

Deccan and Carnatic, and it seemed at that time as if France, and not Great Britain, would become the dominant power in India. But rising into note on the British side was one Robert Clive, who had gone out to India as a writer in the Trading Company, but who, when events gave him the opportunity he desired, turned his quill into a sword, and eventually became, as you know, not only the victorious general of the British forces in India, but also first Governor of Bengal and a Peer. The Government of Great Britain supported their Company in the East with every means in their power; the shopkeepers and the Government of France left Dupleix to support himself; when successful he was lauded to the skies as the greatest man France had ever known, but when through lack of support he suffered defeat at the hands of Clive at Arcot, Conjeveram, and Trichinopoly, both he and Labourdonais were deserted by their countrymen and both eventually ended their days in France in poverty and suffering.

After his successes in Madras Clive went home to England, and returned to India only to find that affairs in the Bengal Presidency were in a critical state. The Nawab of Bengal, the notorious Suraj-ud-Doulat, had captured Fort William at Calcutta, then held by 120 soldiers and seamen gunners, a few half-castes and native sepoys in the Company's employ, and had, with unspeakable cruelty, put to death the majority of the survivors in the Black Hole of Calcutta.

Plassey—the Turning Point

Clive proceeded to Calcutta, and the succeeding year 1757 (just 100 years before the Mutiny) witnessed his victory over the Nawab at Palasi. A slight mention of the battle of Palasi is, I think, necessary, as it is really that battle which gave birth to the military power of Great Britain in India. The forces of the Nawab numbered 50,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and fifty guns worked by French gunners. Clive crossed the river to attack this force in the groves of Palasi with a force of only 1,000 Europeans, 2,000 sepoys, eight 6-pounders, and two howitzers. The battle lasted from 22nd to 23rd June, and resulted—I must say chiefly owing to the treachery and cowardice of Mir Jafir and other chiefs on the Nawab's side—in the utter defeat and demoralisation of the enemy, with a loss of only seventy-two men on our side.

Palasi, however decisive, cannot be classed among the great battles of history, but its moral effect was enormous. It is, we may say, Palasi which has forced Great Britain to become one of the main factors in the burning Eastern Question both in Europe and China; it is Palasi which has necessitated the supremacy of the Union Jack in Egypt and South Africa; it is Palasi that has made London the greatest commercial centre of the world, and His Majesty's domains the greatest Empire of history.

French—the Real Opponents

Although in all these battles and many that followed it was nominally the H.E.I. Company versus the Native Rulers of India, we must

not forget that at the back of chief like the Nawab of Bengal, Tippoo Sahib of Mysore, and the Peishwa of the Mahratta Confederacy, was the power of France still striving for supremacy in the East. French officers and French soldiers marched under the banners of the native chiefs, hoping to eventually drive the British into the sea, and create an opening for a French empire in the East. In fact, at Cuddalore (1781) our opponents were chiefly French. It was there that among the French prisoners taken by Colonel Wagenheim (a Hanoverian in the British service) was a young French sergeant, who, after having fought with marked courage, was badly wounded. Colonel Wagenheim was much struck with his bravery and bearing, and personally directed his wounds to be seen to. Many years after, when Wagenheim was a retired general, the victorious French under Marshal Bernadotte entered Hanover, and the General, of course, with others attended the levee, of the victorious Bernadocte. On his being presented, the marshal asked him if he remembered a wounded French sergeant to whom he had showed kindness at Cuddalore. The general answered in the affirmative. "That young sergeant," replied the future King of Sweden, "was the person who has now the honour to address you, and who rejoices in having this public opportunity of acknowledging his debt of gratitude to general Wagenheim."

I would not go through all the campaigns in India and elsewhere in which the Army in India was engaged for a century, from the time of Clive to that of Clyde, against Mahrattas, Sikhs, Gurkhas, Afghans, Burmese, Persians, and others, nor to tell you anything of the life and work of men like Wellesley, Lake, Combermere, Sale, Napier, Sir Harry Smith, Sir Hugh Rose, Lord Clyde, and many others.

Growth of Army Power

The germ of the splendid Army that now garrisons India from the Khyber to Cape Cormorin, existed in the early days of the East India Company. In 1643 the European forces in India consisted of an establishment restricted by Native Princes to a guard of "an ensign and 30 men." In 1681 the force appears to have been only "a corporal of fidelity and 20 men." In 1693 natives were first enlisted, and I wish you particularly to remember when we come to the later part of my lecture, that the British Empire in India was begun and Clive's victories at Arcot and Palasi won not only by British soldiers, but also by Native troops composed of Madrasis, Bengalis, and some Mahrattas and Rajputs from the Native States. In 1770 the Armies of the three Presidencies had in all increased to 7,000 Europeans and 30,000 Natives. In 1784 the white troops numbered to 18,000; in 1808 there were 154,500 Native troops and 24,500 Europeans, made up of King's regiments and the East India Company's troops (like the old 79th, or "Old Toughs," which still bear Wanderwash and Palasi on their colours they afterwards became the 103rd Bombay Fusiliers, and are now the 2nd Bn. Royal Dublin Fusiliers). In 1856, the year preceding the Indian Mutiny, the Army consisted of 38,000 Europeans of all arms with

276 field guns, and 348,000 Native troops with 248 field guns, that is to say, the Native troops were nearly ten times as strong as the Europeans.

India as a country of superstitions and prophecies, many of which have, it must be confessed, been fulfilled in a curiously precise manner, and others there are that have been made to fit in with after facts in a quaint and clever way. Take, for instance, the fall of Bhurtpore in 1825. There was a native tradition that the place would only fall when an Alligator ("Khambir" as it is called in Hindi) drank up the waters of the city ditch. When therefore Lord Combermere (Khambir Sahib) invested the place, and by cutting the banks of the Moti Jhil (tank) drained the ditch and captured the fort, the old prediction was awfully fulfilled in the eyes of the Hindus. Then again it was a common saying among fakirs and yoghis that 100 years after the battle of Palasi the British Raj would come to an end; and this prophecy, as well as the matter of greased cartridges, was no doubt a factor in setting fire, in 1857, to the faggots of revolt that had long been collecting under our eyes. One gets an idea of how blind those eyes were when reading Mr. Irving's book on India in 1854, where he points out the utter impossibility of any formidable mutiny in our Native Army! As you know, it was not the British Raj that came to an end in 1857, but merely the H.E.I. Company, which, after the Mutiny, was abolished, and the country taken over by the Crown.

It is from this period that we must now consider the present organisation of the Army in India.

Army after 1857

In 1858 by command of our late beloved Queen a commission was appointed to consider the terms under which the H.E.I. Company should be transferred to the Crown, and to discuss the subsidiary questions as to the Army in the East. As regards the latter, the recommendations of the committee were as follows: That a European force of much greater strength then existed previously to the outbreak of 1857 must be maintained for the future defence of India (this force was laid down at about 80,000 men), that the proportion of Natives to Europeans should stand at 2 to 1 for Bengal, 3 to 1 for Madras and Bombay; the artillery, with minor exceptions, to be all European.

Practically these recommendations were adopted, and still form the basis on which our Army in India is now organised.

The Indian Army, as a whole, i.e., both British and Native troops, is maintained for the following purposes:

1. To safeguard India from external attacks.
2. To ensure the impossibility of internal revolution.
3. To share in operations outside India.
4. To keep check over Armies of Feudatory States.
5. To maintain civil authority.

The composition of the Army in India at the present moment including the contingents employed in South Africa (European troops only) and in China, is briefly as follows:

Punjab Command	68,096	roughly 69,000
Bengal Command	53,853	roughly 54,000
Madras Command	43,953	roughly 44,000
Bombay Command	46,726	roughly 46,000
Hyderabad Contingent	8,159	roughly 8,000
Imperial Service Troops	25,000	25,000
Military Police	16,000	16,000
Volunteers	27,000	27,000
	286,787	

Out of which, including Volunteers, 100,000 are European (there are 73,000 Regular European troops).

The supreme command is vested in the Commander-in-Chief in India, the second post of importance in the British Army, and one lately held by our present Governor; and under him come the four lieut.-generals commanding in the Punjab, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay.

Now, after 1857, owing to their disloyalty and mutiny, many Bengal regiments were disbanded. Some, however, which did not mutiny, were retained, as you will see by a reference to the Indian Army List, but they were renumbered, e.g., the present 1st to 13th Bengal Infantry, and some were still raised from Hindus of Bengal in 1858, e.g., the 17th Loyal Purbiyas, as they used to be called; but the Royal Commission, already alluded to, recommended that the Native Army should be composed of different nationalities and castes, and as a rule, mixed promiscuously throughout each regiment; this with the intention of preventing the possibility of having class regiments like those which mutinied *en masse* in 1857. This system, we may say, generally prevailed in the Native Army (with the exception of Gurkha regiments) from 1857 to 1891; though after the Mutiny the Oudh and Bengal men were not enlisted in anything like the same numbers as before, and a large number of Gurkhas, Sikhs, and Punjabis were substituted, and we began to enlist men from across the frontier, namely, Pathans and Baluchis.

In 1891 a great and much discussed change in the Hindustani regiments of the Bengal Army was carried out, whereby some 16 regiments of Bengal Infantry and some in the Punjab which had been, since the Munity, class company regiments (viz., 2 companies of Brahmans, Rajputs, Hindustani Mahomedans, and Sikhs, respectively), became class regiments composed entirely of one class., e.g., the 1st Bengal Infantry are now all Brahmans, the 2nd Bengal Infantry all Rajputs, the 5th Bengal Infantry all Hindustani Mahomedans, the 6th Bengal Infantry all Jats, the 14th Bengal

Infantry all Sikhs; and now there are in the Bengal and Punjab Armies no less than 35 class regiments.

This change was carried out under Lord Roberts' chiefship (and has been, and is still, the subject of diverse opinions). From a military and fighting point of view the advantages are evident: from a political and disciplinary point of view they are, perhaps, open to question.

The Native cavalry of all four commands are still class squadron regiments, except 1st Bengal Cavalry (Hindustani Mahomedans) and 14th Bengal Cavalry (Murray's Jats, raised in 1857 by that fine old soldier Sir John Murray).

In addition to the Native troops of all four commands and certain local corps in Central India and Rajputana like the Central India Horse and Deoli Irregular force (formerly under Government of India, but now since 1897 under the C.-in-C.), there is what is known as the Hyderabad Contingent, consisting of 4 regiments cavalry, 4 field batteries, and 6 battalions infantry, which were raised originally by the H.E.I.C. as an auxiliary force under treaty of 1853. This force is officered by British officers of Staff Corps in the cavalry and infantry and by R.A. officers in the field batteries, and is organised on the same lines as the Regular Native regiments. Its duties are to support the Nizam throughout his dominions (certain territories having been originally ceded to H.E.I.C. to pay for their upkeep), and in the event of war they may be employed as the Government of India sees fit, so long as 2 battalions of sipahis remain near the capital of Hyderabad.

Since 1889 (Lord Dufferin's vice-royalty), there has been another addition to the armed forces in India in the shape of the Imperial Service troops, amounting to about 25,000 cavalry, infantry, and transport, maintained under the supervision of British officers in about 25 different States. The principle of this scheme of Lord Dufferin's was that in lieu of accepting offers of money to the amount of more than 125 lacs made by many of the Native chiefs for purposes of Imperial defence, we should obtain their co-operation better by the re-organisation of a portion of their armies (mostly rather a rabble at that time) and their formation into Imperial Service troops, organised and equipped on a uniform plan, trained and inspected by British officers, but commanded by Native officers, and in peace-time under the complete control of the States to which they belong.

I believe the Imperial Service troops now number about 10,000 cavalry, 12,000 infantry, and 3,000 transport. Detachments of these troops, oft-times under the command of Native Princes, have already done good service with the Regular Army in Hazara, Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Chitral, Tirah, and some are now employed in China.

Troops of Native States

Besides these Imperial Service troops, the Rulers still maintain under treaty rights, chiefly for ceremonial purposes, police work, and various odd jobs, what are called "the Regular and Irregular troops of the Native

States." I believe there are about 120 Rajas who keep up this manifestation of sovereignty. These troops are in no way under the Commander-in-Chief or the Government of India, and we have no control over them, save that if the Government of India thought fit it could order the disbandment of part or whole of the forces. The so-called Regulars have very much diminished since the formation of the Imperial Service troops, for the latter are now available for ceremonial purposes. The so-called Irregulars are very irregular indeed, more or less a rabble, armed with various kinds of weapons, breech-loaders, and blunderbusses, which if they ever went off would probably blow up the Irregulars. They are not properly drilled, their words of command are given in the vernacular, their uniforms (when they have any) are far from uniform, their pay is almost as uncertain and piecemeal as their clothing. They are useful however occasionally as State servants and jacks-of-all-trades, and I have seen both their good and bad points when shooting in Bhurtpore and pig-sticking in Jummu. The Carabineros here in Spain strangely remind me of the Native States Irregulars at times.

Military Police

Now, in addition to the Regular and Irregular troops of our Native Army, there is another body which must be taken into consideration, namely, the Military Police, a force which owes its existence to the extensive operations necessitated by the pacification of Upper Burmah, and to, I believe, Lord Roberts and our present Governor, Sir George White. Their duties were somewhat analogous to those of the South African Police Force now being raised. This force must not be confused with the ordinary Police Force of India, which, though semi-military in its training, is a purely civil force under Civil Government. The Military Police Force was raised in 1886, and I believe now numbers some 16,000 men, Punjabis, Gurkhas, Sikhs, Garhwalis, and Hindustanis (there are no Burmese soldiers in our Army as yet). Ten years ago the force numbered 20,000, but in 1891 five of the battalions were converted into Native Infantry regiments of the Madras Army (29th to 33rd Madras Infantry, known also as "Burmah battalions"), while some of the old Madras Infantry battalions were, I believe, on the recommendation of His Excellency Sir George White disbanded.

Frontier Militia

While the Military Police do service on the Eastern marches of the Empire, we have another Irregular Force now existent on the North-West Frontier, composed of various battalions (or bodies, I should say) of Frontier Militia raised from among the Frontier tribesmen, and the Khyber Rifles, the glorified descendants of the "Catch `em alive Ohs" that we knew so well in the Afghan War days. These forces, I believe, numbering some 5,000, are under Civil Government, but commanded by Staff Corps officers.

Volunteer Force

I have now enumerated all but the last item of our Army in India, namely, the Volunteer Force, which came into organised existence in 1860, although, as you are doubtless aware, many rapidly raised regiments of Volunteers, especially mounted ones, did excellent service in the dark days of 1957-58. They number at present about 27,000 including Light Horse, Mounted Infantry, Artillery, Engineers, Infantry and two Naval Volunteer Brigades for Coast Defence. Natives of India are not permitted to join Volunteer corps, though many have been anxious to do so, notably the Parsis; but Eurasians are (i.e., "half-castes," half European, half Asian, hence the term).

A mounted rifle company of Rangoon Rifle Volunteers served in Burmah in 1885, and was present at the taking of Mandelay. Volunteer corps have frequently been employed on military duty in aid of the Civil Power, and, as you probably know, Lumsden's Horse, now in South Africa, is composed chiefly of men from the Behar, Ghazipur, Surma Valley, Gorakhpur, and Calcutta regiments of Light Horse.

The chief point regarding Indian Volunteers is that we have in that country an example of compulsory Volunteering. The term sounds a bit paradoxical, but it is one you may have heard mentioned lately regarding our Home Army, as many people are of opinion that if the law of ballot for the Militia in the United Kingdom and Ireland is still to remain suspended, the only solution of the problem of adequate home defence lies in some form of compulsory Volunteering, though personally I look on ballot for the Militia as our only real and national panacea.

In India the employee's of the State railways are obliged by the terms of their engagement to join the Volunteers, and such battalions as the East Indian Railway Volunteers (1900 strong) and the North-Western Railway Volunteers (1100 strong) are really fine bodies of men, though necessarily owing to the amount of railway traffic in time of either internal rebellion or external war, but a few of them would be available for actual fighting.

The question of compulsory Volunteering in India for all European civilians is one that will, sooner or later have to be settled. The proposal that all Government civil servants should be obliged to join the Volunteers was, by the order of the Viceroy in 1892, considered by a committee of Volunteer officers. This committee, though they considered it undesirable at present that the bearing of arms should be made a condition of Government service, suggested that the Government of India should address all local governments on the extreme importance of enlisting the active interest and co-operation of all heads of departments in the encouragement of Volunteering among their subordinates. This representation was made by the Council, and the result was an increase in the Volunteer force of officers of the Indian Civil Service, but is nothing like the proportion necessary.

Now we will go rather more into detail as regards the organisation of each arm of the Native Army.

Four Commands

The Native troops in the four commands, viz., Punjab, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and those under the Government of India (that is, not including either Military Police, Frontier Militia, or Imperial Service troops), consist briefly of—

41 Regiments of Cavalry and some Irregular Corps, such as the Deoli Irregular Force.
4 Field Batteries Artillery (Hyderabad Contingent).
10 Mountain Batteries.
1 Garrison Battery.
3 Battalions Sappers and Miners.
127 Battalions Native Infantry and some Irregular troops, such as the Meywar Bhil Corps.

Being a total of roughly 145,000 (or approximately double the number of European troops in India).

A regiment of Native cavalry consists of 4 squadrons, 1 commandant, 4 squadron commanders, 4 squadron officers, about 4 attached officers, and 1 medical officer, all European; of these, 1 is adjutant and 1 quartermaster, 4 risaldars (Native squadron commanders), of whom 1 is risaldar major, 4 resaldars (Native captains), 8 jemadars (Native sub-alterns), of whom I is woordi major (adjutant). 8 kote duffadars troop (sergeant-majors), 56 duffadars (sergeants), including 1 farrier major, and 1 salutri (shoeing smith), 8 trumpeters, 536 sowars (troopers), including 1 assistant salutri, 16 farriers, and 8 camal sowars. Total 625 Natives.

The establishment of a Native mountain battery is 1 commandant, 3 subalterns (of Royal Artillery), 1 subadar (Native captain), 2 jemadars, 1 havildar major, 1 pay and quartermaster havildar, 6 havildars (sergeants), 6 naiks (corporals), 2 trumpeters, 88 gunners, 3 havildars of drivers, 6 naiks of drivers, 138 drivers, 1 farrier, 1 salutri. Total 260.

The armament of all, except the battery in Burmah, is six 2.5 R.M.L. screw guns. This one battery has a slightly different establishment and is still armed, I believe, with the old 7-pounder "pop-gun."

European mountain batteries have, in addition to the officers and gunners of Royal Artillery, 148 Native drivers and non-commissioned officers. They are also armed with the 25 screw gun, though I understand another mountain gun (a 10-pounder B.L. jointed gun, 400 lbs. cordite charge, M.V. 1,200-1,300 f.s.) is under trial.

A Native infantry battalion consists of 1 commandant, 2 wing commanders, 5 wing officers (of whom 1 is adjutant and 1 quartermaster), about 4 attached officers and 1 medical officer, 8 subadars, 8 jemadars, 40 havildars, 40 naiks, 16 drummers, 800 sipahis (private).

Native officers are, as a general rule, promoted from the ranks by selection after having passed a qualifying educational test; though now and again, especially when new regiments are raised, commissions are given direct.

The Native Sipahi

A sipahi or sowar enlists for twenty-one years' service with the colours in India or beyond the seas, after which he is entitled to a pension. Subject to certain restrictions he can claim his discharge, or his commanding officer can get rid of him after three years. Lately a system of Reserves has been introduced. The principle was that a certain percentage (25 per cent, I think) of sipahis were allowed to return to civil life after between five and twelve years' service with the colours, and form an Active Reserve, which is embodied for a month every year with one or more of the linked regiments and a Garrison Reserve composed of pensioners, who were not liable to service outside India.

The Native's idea of soldiering is that he devotes the best years of his life entirely to it, and I fancy they thought that returning to their villages before their time might give the appearance of having been dismissed from the Service. I know I had great difficulty in trying to make my orderly understand it. He was a well-to-do zemindar (landowner), whose father had just died, and his family were anxious for his return to his acres, which his commanding officer and I both persuaded him to do, but without effect.

A sipahi's pay is 9 rupees per mensem. Calculated at 1s. 4d. to the rupee, this works out at 12s. a month, or about 3d. a day, out of which, the soldier has to feed himself. He gets a full uniform on joining, and renewals at certain periods. He has to nominally build his own barracks and keep them in repair, for which hutting allowance is drawn; but this is too intricate a question to go into here. He also draws (what is dearly loved by all Native soldiers) "compensation for dearness of rations," which practically means that anything over 3 rupees 8 annas a month charged to him for rations is refunded. There are certain other deductions from the sipahi's pay, too complicated to go into here, but roughly he clears about 5 rupees (or 6s. 8d.) pay per month. This ration allowance, which has become a necessity owing to the rise in price of food-stuffs all over India, is by way of compensating the soldier for the consequent loss, his pay (when it was 7 rupees) having been originally calculated when *atta* (flour) was all about half its present *nerik* rate. Practically on this system all the Native troops are paid except the Punjab, Bengal, and Bombay Cavalry.

Silladar System

As regards the Native cavalry in the Punjab, Bengal, and Bombay, it is maintained on what is called the *Zilladar* system—that is to say, the sowar on joining finds everything himself: horse, saddlery, uniform, and sword—he also has to pay for feed and upkeep of his horse, the Government supplying him with carbine, lance head, and (I believe) pennon, and for this he draws 32 rupees per month (46s.), and, of course, as in the infantry, compensation for dearness of rations and hutting allowance, which latter is higher than in the infantry, to allow for extra cost of horse lines. This was the old system of raising irregular forces in

different zillas, and the theory is still maintained, though in practice what it amounts to is that the young sowar recruit (who is as a rule a man of influence or means) pays to the regimental funds on joining a certain fixed sum (about 250 rupees, or £ 16) and subscribes monthly to the Chunda Fund (about 2 rupees per month in most regiments, I think), and he is supplied with a horse, saddlery, arms, and accoutrements; his uniform, etc., he purchases from the regimental shop.

In rich regiments like the 11th and 19th Bengal Lancers (late Probyn's and Fane's Horse), which made their pile in the China War of 1859-60, the regimental funds are in a very flourishing state, and the men are splendidly mounted; in the 19th Bengal Lancers chiefly on "walers" (Australian horses), though the advantage for these for Native cavalry I have never been able to see, for the country-bred and Arab carry them perfectly well, and on service at a pinch will live on an odd blade of grass or two and a pinch of "bhusa" (chopped straw); while the waler, unless he gets his meals regularly, is apt to fall to pieces. The 11th Bengal Lancers have a horsebreeding farm of their own at Probynabad, and turn out a very good class of "C.B.'s," with a strain of English, Arab, Persian, or Baluch blood in them, and I hear that other regiments have lately started horse farms on the same lines. Other regiments that are not so wealthy buy their remounts from breeders and at horse fairs. The Remount Department of the Government of India owns a certain number of stallions whose services are obtainable by breeders to cover mares.

The late General Parrott started years ago at Karnal a horsebreeding establishment, and should have made it pay well, only he bred too fine, too much of the thoroughbred about his foals, and the farm became more or less a breeding establishment for race horses.

Bazaar funds and grass farms are also sources of income to cavalry regiments, all of which assist in keeping down the expenses of sowars.

Uniforms

As regards uniform, the Native soldier of all arms has a working kit of khaki and a swagger kit for ceremonial purposes, scarlet blue, green, light blue, drab or yellow, as the case may be (the 1st Bengal Lancers, Skinner's Horse, are the "Yellow Bellies"). Off duty he does not wear uniform, but dons his mufti (desertion is almost unknown), and you will see in the afternoons, strutting through the bazaars, Sikhs, Pathans, Baluchis, and others, in all the splendour of their flowing robes, always magnificent, always tastefully arranged, and always spotlessly clean; for, mind you, the soldier of the Emperor in India is a man with a position to keep up, and be he sipahi or subadar, he considers himself (and rightly too) above the ordinary mortal.

They wear medals in mufti, but not on their breasts, but strung round their necks without the ribbons; and a man who can swagger about with two or three portraits of the Queen on his manly bosom is a "bara Bahadur" (i.e., great person) among his countrymen.

On this subject of medals, Egypt has unfortunately started a grievance with the native soldier, and I expect China will intensify it. He doesn't understand our system of medals: you see, for every frontier campaign—and most of their service is on the frontier—after his first he only gets what he calls a "4 anna clasp." A Sikh subadar once, in introducing his young brother to me, who had served in Egypt and on one frontier campaign, said —"Sahib, he is a very fortunate youth; he possesses three medals, has only been on service twice, and has never been wounded; whereas I, as your honour knows, have served in five campaigns, have been three times wounded, yet I have but one medal!"

Language Problem

Every British officer in the Staff Corps has to pass both lower and higher standard examinations in Hindustani before he is permanently admitted to the Indian Service. He has also later on to pass in the language used in his regiment, Pukhtu for Pathans and Baluchis, Parvatia for Gurkhas, Tamil for Madrassis, etc., but all words of command are given in English, and all instruction is according to the artillery, infantry, and cavalry drill books, which are published in English on one side and in the vernacular on the other.

I don't think Hindustani proper is a difficult language, especially when one is living in the country. Most Staff Corps candidates manage to pass the Higher Standard in from 6 to 18 months. The only real difficulty is the exercises, English into Hindi and Urdu, which the examiners are very strict about. Officers of European regiments, save those who hope for Staff employ, for which the H.S. is a *sine qua non*, don't as a rule bother themselves about examinations: and their colloquial, though good enough for servants, is at times unwittingly apt to cause offence when they address Native officers or men of position. The British subaltern's Hindustani is all in the imperative; he is surrounded by many a servant to whom he saith go, and he goeth; come, and he cometh. On the rare occasions when "he cometh not" I am afraid the subaltern takes other means than the vernacular to make him come, which is really a thousand pities, though he won't believe it. Now there are various ways of saying the same thing in Hindustani, and one has to be careful when dealing with higher class Natives, e.g., we'll say a Subadar wants to call a sipahi to him, he would say, "Oh, Hari Singh, idha aoao" but to a Jamadar he would say, "Jemadar sahib, hierana," using probably infinitive; while to his colonel he would say, "Sahib, hazur ki parwasti, ap ke tashrif bier live," which, being literally translated, means: "Sir, by your honour's kindness, will you be pleased to bring your highness' presence here?"

Recruitment

At first sight it would appear that in India there should be no recruiting problem, for, roughly speaking, we want only 160,000 Native troops (i.e., including military police), and we have a population of

300,000,000 to supply them. If we were not so very particular and exclusive as regards our recruits, if the same class of men contented us now as contented Clive and Lake, we could increase our Army five-fold without much difficulty for the Service of the State has a great charm for the Native Gradually, however, since the Mutiny, a system has obtained of eliminating from our Army a large percentage of the older fighting classes and all the lower castes of Hindus; the result is, that we are now making fresh calls on Gurkhas, Pathans, Sikhs, etc., not only for service in India, but also for military police and for Colonial service abroad; and it is beginning to dawn on the authorities that the whole recruiting system will require more consideration than has hitherto been given it.

Before 1891-92 the system of recruiting was practically two-fold: first, by the commanding officer's "Umedwar" book, in which the brothers, sons, and cousins of influential zemindars and men in the regiment were entered for admission so soon as they attained manhood and were vacancies—a system that still practically does most of the recruiting for some of the favourite regiments; and, secondly; recruiting parties under a havildar, who proceeded to the district whence the regiment recruited and collected suitable youths, had them passed by a doctor, attested at the nearest cantonment magistrate's office, and sent off to the regiment.

Since 1891-92, with the object of more effectually obtaining the best men of the most warlike classes, recruiting, depots have been established at various stations, and special officers have been appointed as recruiting for certain districts e.g.:

Peshawar for Pathans.
Amritsar for Sikhs.
Sialkot for Dogras.
Lucknow for Hindus.
Gorakhpur for Gurkhas, and so on.

Owing to the size of the districts, assistant recruiting officers were later on appointed from regiments to help the recruiting officers.

There is no difficulty in recruiting just at present, but there might be, especially if from any reason recruiting beyond our frontier became, owing to war, impossible; and this is where the crux of the whole question comes in.

I am not alone in thinking that Army Head Quarters, India, take it too much for granted that *Pax Britannica* has destroyed the fighting instincts of many of the old warlike races of Hindustan. I allude more especially to the Rajputs, Indian Mahomedans and Mahrattas. We do not enlist Rajputs, Indian Mahomedans, and Mahrattas in any thing like the numbers we could. These were the men who fought for us at Arcot, Palasi, Seringapatam, and Assaye? Well, these are the men whose descendants we now look on as the poorer fighting classes of India, who are supposed to have, to a great extent, turned their swords into ploughshares, though in

reality I believe it is the Government itself that is assisting and encouraging the ploughshare by their neglect of these races, and by so seldom when enlisted sending regiments of this class on service. If we fostered the warlike spirit in these races—Sir Power Palmer, the present Commander-in-Chief, has made a good move in this way by his varied selection of regiments for China—there is no reason that I wot of why in time they should not again emulate the deeds of their forebears.

I believe that had we stopped recruiting Sikhs and forbidden Singhism, as Lord Lawrence actually did just before the Mutiny, which order, luckily for us, had to be cancelled because of the Mutiny and the assistance we wanted from the Khalsa, the Sikhs would also have lost their fighting instincts and sunk to the level of an Oudh ryot, whereas we have kept him well to the forefront, with the result that he is the finest fighting man in Asia.

In spite of the extra numbers of Pathans (Afridis, Orakzais, Khuttaks, etc.) now required by us, we have little or no difficulty in obtaining them. A Native officer wrote to me after the Tirah Campaign and said they had more Afridis than ever coming in to enlist, mostly from the tribes we had been fighting a month previously. The reason is that we were successful been had we failed, enlistments would have ceased and desertion begun. It is a curious, but a pleasing fact, that the tribes we have had the hardest knocks with before we conquered them, namely the Sikhs, Gurkhas, Pathans, and Baluchis, are the pick out of Indian Army now.

The classes we now enlist from are as follows:

Bengal and the Punjab.—Brahmans, Rajputs, Jats, Dogras, Garhwalis, Gurkhas, Sikhs, Hindustani and Punjabi Mahomedans, and Pathans.

Madras—Tamils, Talingas, other Madrassis, including Mahomedans, and a few Mahrattas.

In the Burmah Battalions.—Punjabis, Dogras, Rajputs, Sikhs, and Gurkhas.

Bombay.—Rajputs, Jats, Gujars, Mers, Mahrattas, Sikhs, Brahuis, Baluchis, Hazaras, Wazeris, Pathans, and Central India Mahomedans.

Thus briefly it will be observed that nearly all the fighting men in all four commands come from the N.W. portion of the continent and from across the borders.

I will take the Hindus first, as they form two-thirds of the population.

Sudra Officer and Brahman Subordinate

When about 1000 B.C. the priests began to obtain a decided ascendency over the people in India, the population became divided, through their initiative, into four chief castes:

1. The Brahmans, the priestly caste, the so-called heaven-born.
2. The Kshatryas, or Rajputs, that is "sons of kings"; also nobles, but a degree lower than Brahmans. They are the fighting class.
3. The Vaisyas, or agriculturists and farmers or traders.

4. The Sudras, or menial class, supposed to be the original inhabitants of the country before the Aryan invasion.

The fact of a man being a Brahman or Rajput does not mean nowadays that he is a man of high worldly position: he may be a millionaire, he may be a beggar, he may be a priest, a prince, a tiller of the fields, a clerk, a doorkeeper, or a wandering mendicant; he must not do, however, what the native considers menial work. On the other hand, many rajas and princes are of very lower caste. Salivahama, the great Mahratta chief (A.D. 1) was the son of a potter, and the ancestors of both Holkar and Scindia were as called Sudras, while that of the Gaikwar was, as his name shows, a herdsman.

Of all these many castes of Hindus proper (that is not counting Dogras, Garhwalis, Mahrattas, Jats, and Gurkhas, who are all Hindus by religions), the only ones we now enlist are the two highest, viz., Brahmans and Rajputs. Before 1891 many regiments like the 39th and 40th Bengal Infantry had an admixture (as suggested by the Royal Commission of 1858) of many of the lower castes. The result was not altogether satisfactory. I have myself seen Brahmans of the old 39th Bengal Infantry going off in a body after parade to wash their clothes and persons because they had touched a low caste sipahi at drill. The Brahmans would obey the orders of low caste Native officer on duty, but more or less sullenly, while in the bazaar the low caste Native officer would make way on the road for his Brahman subordinate.

Regiments like the 2nd, 7th and 11th Bengal infantry, now composed entirely of Rajputs, are undoubtedly fine battalions, and have done good service in Burmah and elsewhere.

In the Jats we have another fighting race (according to Cunningham, half Afghan, half Rajput), of Hindu religion. They are courageous and reliable men, and did very well in the Afghan War 1878-80, when the 14th Bengal Lancers (all Jats) distinguished themselves by their very gallant behaviour round Kabul.

The Dogra is a useful fighting man also, he too is of mixed race with Rajput blood in him. A smart, somewhat slightly built, but wiry hill man; rather of a retiring disposition, quiet and well disciplined.

Fighting Qualities

The Mahratta is a nation to himself, a nation that at one time ruled the greater part of India. Now, Kolhapur, in the Deccan, is the only remaining pure Mahratta State in India, though Holkar, Scindia, and the Gaikwar are all Mahratta chiefs. The Mahratta is by nature a freebooter of predatory habits, but a fine soldier withal, and still inherits the equestrian aptitude of his forebears of the famous "Mahratta Horse," whose proud boast it used to be that they had watered their steeds at every river in India.

The Gurkha is, a fine, cool-headed fighter, a short, sturdy hill-man with a ready smile and cheerful countenance, not tied down with over

much consideration for the rules and regulations of his Rajput ancestors. He is the "Greenjacket" of the Indian Army, and is clothed like our rifle battalions, in dark green with black belts. Not quick at learning, but he has ever been in the forefront of the Empire's battles, and has never failed to cover himself with glory and gore.

The 39th Bengal Infantry, which used to be a mixed Hindustani regiment when I knew them at Jhansi in 1888, are now a class regiment of Garhwalis. They are good men, I dare say if some of you met a Garhwali you would very likely mistake him for a Gurkha, as they are not unlike and wear the same sort of porkpie caps.

From Baluchistan we obtain both Brahuis and Baluchis, both tribes being Sunni (orthodox) Mahomedans. They are brave good fighters; we know how well they fought against us in the Scinde War, and Sir Charles Napier was eulogistic as to their fearless bravery at Meanee.

Both tribes wear their hair long, often done in curls, and in their native attire, with skull cap, calico tunic, and full trousers fastened at the ankle, they present a fine picturesque and barbaric appearance.

Across the frontier only he who speaks Pukhtu is a Pathan (Paythan, as the British soldier calls him), be he Afridi, Orakzai, Khuttak or what not, though generally speaking every Afghan is called a Pathan. The 40th (Bengal Infantry) Pathans, a regiment which was converted in 1891 from a mixed Hindu regiment into a class regiment of (all) Pathans, as which it still figures in the Indian Army List, but which I believe has been again quite lately made into a class company regiment of Pathans, Sikhs, Punjab Mahomedans and Dogras.

The Afridis are first-rate pipers. All wild hill-men, you know, play the pipes, be they Pathans, Gurkhas, or Cameron lads, though their instruments vary from the Highland pipes of Scotland with a bass and two tenor drones, to similar pipes with only one bass drone down to the Eastern "sernai." The music of all is equally sweet and hard to distinguish.

As a fighter, when things go well, when, "forward" is the word, the Pathan has all the *elan* of a French soldier of the First Empire, all the courage of a Tamerlane, the agility of a cat, and the fierceness of a tiger; but when things are not so rosy—well, there are some other races I prefer.

In addition to these classes and tribes, we have the Mahomedans of all India (the Mahomedan population of India proper is fifty-seven millions), commonly divided as regards recruiting into divisions such as Punjabi Mahomedans, Hindustani Mahomedans, Rajput Mahomedans, Madrassi Mahomedans, Deccani Mahomedans, etc.; the descendants of Afghan and Mogul invaders and of those Hindus who, during the Mogul period, embraced Mahomedanism. Good soldiers, they make, intelligent and trust-worthy. Perhaps the Punjabi Mahomedans are preferred to those of Hindustan and down country as being the braver. Few regiments have better fighting records than those containing Punjabi Mahomedans, and certainly *Pax Britannica* has not eradicated the fighting instincts of the

followers of the Prophet in the Land of the Five Rivers. The Punjabi Mahomedan still holds his own with the best of our Asian fighting men.

I have left to the last what I consider the first of our fighting men in Asia—the Sikh, the type of all that is noblest and best in a soldier and a gentleman. No finer foe ever crossed swords with British soldier than he of the Army of the Khalsa, and no better fighter has ever died for his Empress than the Sikh who affixes the title of "singh" (soldier) to his name.

The Mahzubi Sikhs, are sound good fighters and excellent pioneers. The 23rd Bengal Infantry (Pioneers) are composed entirely of Mahzubi Sikhs—but the mainstay of our Indian Army are the Sikhs proper.

Splendid horsemen as were the old Sikh horse of the forties, good shots, of fine features and clean proportions, tall and active, proud, but not overbearingly so like the Rajput or Brahman they are, I think (not excepting even Gurkhas), *facile princeps* of our Indian troops. Who is there who has fought alongside the Sikh who does not admire his sterling qualities?

To see a Sikh at his best one should see the last company of a rear guard (I'm thinking of a Sikh battalion on the frontier) in rather a tight place, and one can but admire their unswerving discipline, devotion, and fearlessness.[14]

So much for the characteristics of some of the fighting races of our Indian Army. There is, however, one more powerful and valuable characteristic of all Native soldiers that I must mention, and that is their unbounded admiration for and belief in their British officers.[15]

We all must have greater interest in India, our chief (I was almost saying our only real) training ground, its people, its fighting races, and its modern Army—an Army that has under successive chiefs been kept up to such a state of efficiency and preparedness that it has never failed us yet, nor, please God, will it ever do so; but, when the blast of war again blows in our ears, whether a hurricane from off the shores of civilisation or a breezy zephyr from the recesses of our rugged borderland, it will be found ready and strong as ever to uphold the honour and glory of the Empire, and the noblest traditions of the Army in India.

Notes and References

1. Abbe J.A. Dubois (born 1770) having escaped from the massacres of the French Revolution sought refuge in India and worked here as a missionary. Charles Grant, Chairman of the Court of Directors got his account translated from the original French manuscript kept in the Company's library.

2. According to the *Nitiprakasika* the different corps of the army would have the following strength:

Army Corps	*Elephant*	*Chariot*	*Horse*	*Foot*
Patti	1	1	3	5
Senamukha	3	3	9	15
Gulma	9	9	27	45

Gana	27	27	81	135
Vahini	81	81	243	405
Prtana	243	243	729	1215
Camu	729	729	2187	3645
Anikini	2187	2187	6561	13935
Aksauhini	21870	21870	65610	109350

3. The *Sukraniti* gives a much more sensible distribution. According to that work the aggregate of the military unit would be 5 chariots, 10 elephants, 40 camels, 64 bulls, 300 horses, and 1280 men. Gustav Opperts' *Weapons, Army Organisation, and Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus* (1830).
4. The Mohamedans, as well as the warlike nation of the Hindoos, are fond of the parade of cavalry, of which most of their armies were composed; but a great and strange defect reigns in these armies. Every soldier finds his own horse; if his horse is killed (as it is generally impossible for him to purchase another), he is no longer a soldier. His livelihood depends on his horse more than on himself, and according to the value of that he receives his pay.—Mrs. Kindersley's *Letters from the East Indies* (1767).
5. The southern Poligars gave much trouble to the Company's forces in the 'Poligar Wars" in 1799 and 1801 when more than 15 British Officers were killed.—Henry Yule.
6. The place where they went ashore was a Town of Moors; which name our seamen give to all the subjects of the great Mogul, but especially his Mohametan subjects; calling the idolators, Gentoos or Rashboots (Rajputs).—Dampier.
7. The great officers of the army carry their *zanannahs*, and an infinite number of servants; every common *Seapoy* has at least a wife and servant and officers have families in proportion; even their little children are not left behind. An immense travelling *bazar* or market always follows. So that in fact a Mohamedan army is an unwieldy multitude, which yields to a small body of well-conducted troops, not from want of courage in the soldiers, but of conduct in the leaders.—Mrs. Kindersley's *Letter dated September, 1767 from Allahabad.*
8. Forts and fortifications have always been an important factor in the warfare and war strategy. A number of forts were constructed by the rulers in ancient and medieval India. Here are some brief notes on Allahabad Fort compiled by the District Collector in 1914.

B.C. 312 Silencus Nicater (by Haydon D.D.) records that a strong fortification has existed at Prayag (Allahabad) at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna since the earliest times.

300 The town (then PRAYAG) was visited by Magasthenes, the Ambassador of SELEUCUS, in the 3rd century B.C. The Buddhist period of influence in India may be said to extend roughly from B.C. 500 to A.D. 500.

250 The earliest—authentic history obtainable with reference to the district is from a sculptured monument, erected in the Fort about the year B.C. 240 by the Buddhist King ASOKA, for the purpose of inscribing his edicts for the propagation of Buddhism. The pillar was set-up as at present in 1838, after lying for years at the Main Gate (Called "Bhim Singh ki lat," i.e. Bhim Singh's walking stick, he being a great wrestler in the district).

200 SAMUDRA GUPTA made use of it, as record of his extensive sovereignty over the various natives of India from Nepal to the Deccan and from Gujarat to Assam.

A.D. 414 FU HIAN (Tu Shan) a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim recorded that he found the district still a great part of the Kosala Kingdom.

600 to 700 The Chinese HWEN THSANG visited Prayag and reported the existence of two Buddhist Monastries and many Hindu temples. He describes the city as situated at the confluence of the two rivers at the west of a large sandy Plain. In the midst of the city stood a Brahminical temple to which the presentation of a single piece of money produced as much merit as a thousand pieces of money elsewhere. Before the principle room of the temple was a large tree with widespreading branches which was said to be the abode of a man-eating demon. The tree was surrounded with human bones the remains of pilgrims who had sacrificed their lives before the temple, a practice which has been observed from time immemorial.

General Cunningham (1871) records: "I think there can be little doubt that the famous tree, here described by the pilgrim, is the well known 'Undecaying Banian Tree' which is still an object of worship at Allahabad."

The reputed remnants of this tree are now situated underground at one side of the pillared court which would appear to have been open formerly and which may be the temple described by HWENG THSANG, that is, the one in the shrine of SIVA inside the present (Akbar's) Fort and which is visited by Hindu Pilgrims at all times but especially at Magh Mela festivals which are held annually in January and February.

1001 to 1024 This tree is next mentioned in the pages of RASHID-UD-DIN who stares that the tree of the PRAGLIS is situated at the junction of the Jumna and the Ganges.

1205 The Pathan or Afghan Empire was founded.

1219 to 1227 Genghis Khan's Invasion, Allahabad and the Fort were under the Governor of Karra, the headquarters of the Karra Province.

1300 to 1400 Allahabad and Fort under ALLAH-UD-DIN at the end of the 13th century.

1539 About 1539 Allahabad and the Fort were wrested from the Pathans by BADAR and its present name Allahabad (The City of God) was bestowed on 1575 it by the Emperor AKBAR. This ruler built the bunds along the North or left Jumna bank and the West or right Ganges bank, and also constructed, at their point of junction, the older portions of the present Fort almost as it now stands. Although he himself, a strict Mussulman, he is no way interfered with or allowed to be disturbed the Hindu sacred shrine known as the temple of Siva. This worthy example of respecting the religious prejudices of the Brahmins was followed by his successors and the shrine has remained undisturbed and pilgrims have since been permitted to visit it almost without interruption even during all the disturbances that have occurred since then.

The Emperor AKBAR was succeeded by his son SALIM, afterwards the Emperor Jehangir who held the Governorship and lived in the Fort.

1615 KHUSROO, the son of JEHANGIR, died in 1615 and the Mausoleum in the Khusroo Bagh was erected in his honour at Allahabad.

1736 In 1736, Allahabad and the Fort fell into the hands of the Mahrattas who held it until 1750.

1750 In 1750 the City was sacked by the Pathans of Farukabad but no mention is made of the Fort.

1753 In 1753, SAFAR JANG, Nawab of Oudh, seized Allahabad and held it until 1765.

1765 After the victory of Buxar in 1764, Allahabad was restored by the British to the Emperor SHAH ALUM, the phantom Emperor of Delhi.

1771 Shah Alum threw himself into the hands of the Maharattas. The British then sold his abandoned province to the Nawab of the Oudh for 15 lakhs of rupees. Shah Alum remained as State prisoner in the hands of the Mahrattas until 1803 when the victories of Lord Lake set him free.

1801 An agreement was effected whereby Allahabad district with the Doab generally, was ceded to the British.

1803. The Fort became Arsenal for military weapons and stores for the company's army.

1833 Allahabad became the seat of the Provincial Government.

1835 Capital removed to Agra,

1858 Allahabad again became the Provincial Capital and continued to be so up to the transfer to Lucknow.

1857 Mutiny. First perceptible excitement became evident early in May. Indian Troops remained loyal at first but by 14-6-1857 all were turned out of the Fort, the garrison of which was then entirely European. Colonel Neill commanded and held the Fort. By 15-7-1857 the district was reasonably quiet and the Fort then became a great military base whence troops were continually despatched to feed the armies of Havelock, Outram and later, Cohn Campbell.

1812 The land face of the Fort was reconstructed.

1830 Ellenborough Barracks were constructed.

1895 Officers' Quarters, over Fort Gate, were built. Considerably improved in 1912.

1907 Severe earthquake damaged Church and No. 5 Officers' Quarter.

1911 Wireless Telegraph installation commenced and finished in 1912.

1912 The New Ganges Bridge was opened for traffic on 31-10-12.

1811-13 The Jumna Bridge was reconstructed.

9. Castle and forts were built by the European traders also for better security of their persons, merchandise and arms and ammunition. One such castle is the Bombay Castle, a brief history of which is given below. In 1662 when the Island of Bombay was ceded to Charles as a part of his bride's dowry, the Portuguese Viceroy, Antonio de Mellow de Castro addressed his Sovereign thus: "The English there and the island fortified your Majesty will loose all to the North as they will take away all your Majesty's trade. I foresee that India will be lost the same day on which the English nation is settled in Bombay". Bombay was the first territorial possession acquired by the British Crown in India.

1509 The Portuguese arrived at Mahim.

1517 to 1529 Portuguese second descent, naval engagement in Bombay harbour.

1534 "Sultan of Gujrat" ceded the Island of Bombay to the Portuguese (23rd December) who built the Bombay Fort.

1548 King of Portugal gave away Bombay as a gift to Garcia-de-Crta an eminent physician.

1548 Garcia-de-Crta commenced construction of the "Manor House" inside the Fort.

1570 "Manor House" completed-Castle construction inside the Fort.

1626 The Fort as a Residence of "Portugese Governor". Dutch and English combined forces invaded the island on 13th October, pillaged the town and set fire to the Great House and Castle of the Portuguese but suddenly abandoned it.

1661 King Charles II received Bombay as a part of his dowry from D. Catherine sister of the King of Portugal D. Alfonso VI, based on article eleven of the Treaty of Marriage dt. 23rd June, 1661.

1665 Humphrey Cook signed the instrument of possession in the Fort by which the English took over Bombay.

1668 Bombay and the Fort passed into the hands of the "East India Company".
1673 The Fort as a residence of the "President of Council" of Surat.
1686 The H.Q. of the East India Company transferred to Bombay Castle from Surat and with it the H.Q. of the "Bombay Marine".
1710 The Bombay Castle is described as a meat regular-fortification well-governed, well-gunned, well-manned and well-disciplined Fort.
1748 Arsenal of ordnance and other war-like stores located.
1830 The Indian Naval Ensign hoisted on the Castle Barracks, Flag Staff.
1838 The Arsenal is referred to as 'Grand Arsenal,' i.e. a big depot of Ordnance stores.
1863 The Indian Naval Ensign struck from the Castle Barracks Flag Staff.
15-7-1940 Castle Bks. commissioned as "H.M.I.S. Dalhousie."
14-1-1941 R.I.N. "White Ensign" hoisted on board "H.M.I.S. Dalhousie". Renamed as "L.N.S. Dalhousie" on 26-1-1950 and again renamed as "I.N.S. ANGRE" on 15-9-1951.

10. Jadunath Sarkar.
11. Extracts from a lecture delivered by Lt. Col. F.C. Carter, D.A.Q.M.G. and D.A.A.G. Bengal Army in 1894.
12. Aurungzeb (1658-1707) was born unlucky, and a bigot. Civil war added to the general unrest, and when he was called to his fathers, in 1707, it was evident that there could be no trade in India without troops, and the successor to the Moghul Empire might be any group or nation with command of disciplined soldiers and the means to pay them regularly. Yeats Brown's *Martial India.*
13. In those days the Moghul armies had lost the cohesion and valour of their ancestors under Tamerlane and Baber: they now resembled moving bazars, with a train of camp followers—sutlers, grooms, tent pitchers, pipe lighters, camel-men, courtesans, catamites, and the general's harem—a stragling host sometimes outnumbering the combatants by ten to one. Only the Mahrattas, then a rising power, were trained to speed and obedience: they slept on the ground, with their horses' reins about their wrists. India did not lack fighting men, but she lacked leaders who were capable of enforcing discipline and inspiring confidence. *Martial India.*
14. I have seen only two races in the world who really like fighting, the Sikhs and the Gurkhas. In peace time the Sikhs are difficult to command: they are given to intrigue, and need a firm hand; but put them in a hot corner, and they live upto their title of Singh, which means a lion. In Mesopotamia in the last war the Arabs called them the Black Lions. I have never met a despondent Sikh in the front line. In a fight he will go on to his last breath, and die laughing at the thought of Paradise with the battle cry of Khalsa Ji Ki Jai as he falls. *Martial India.*
15. An English, whilst on a hunting party, hastily struck a peon, for improperly letting loose a grey hound. The peon happended to be a Rajah-pout, which is the highest tribe of Hindoo soldiers. On receiving the blow, he started back with an appearance of horror and amazement, and drew his poignard. But again composing himself, and looking steadfastly at his master, he said, "I am your servant. I have long eat your bread" and having pronounced this, he plunged the dagger into his own bosom. In those few words he surely pathetically expressed, "The arm that has been nourished by you, shall not be employed to take away your life; but, in sparing yours, I must give up my own, as I cannot survive my dishonour." Cranford's *Sketches of the Hindoos* (1792).

7

European and Native Troops

While moving a vote of thanks to their Army in India, in the British Parliament in March 1819, Mr. Canning paid tributes to the superiority of the British arms1 and said, "Looking back to the period when our possessions there consisted only of a simple factory on the coast for the purpose of a permitted trade: and in comparing that period with the present, when that factory has swelled into an empire,2 when about one-third in point of extent and about three-fifths in point of population, of those immense territories are subject immediately to British Government: when not less than another fourth of the land, and another fifth of the inhabitants, are under rulers either tributary to the English Power or connected with it by close alliance . . . Other speakers too, complimented these armed forces in India and described European and Native troops as two main pillars of the British Empire. The East India Company's great successes in India depended mainly on its military forces.3 How these forces—European and Native—were composed, trained and disciplined and what role they played in building a vast empire for the British Crown forms an interesting study. *(Ed.)*

Two Classes of European Forces

The British Army in India originally consisted of Europeans recruited from England or collected locally, of half-caste Goanese Topasses[4] and of Indian guards. It had also the King's troops garrisoning the Bombay island converted from the service of the Crown to the service of the Company in 1668 after the island was handed over to the Company's President who resided at Surat, while a duputy governor was appointed to reside in Bombay. The Royal troops[5] retained their rank and pay and thus two classes of European troops, i.e. the King's troops and other European troops in the service of the East India Company came into being. A contingent of Royal troops arrived at Madras under Admiral Watson in 1754. Their arrival caused the application of the Mutiny Act to the Company's forces. The distinction among the two classes of the European forces regarding rank, pay and promotion continued, with much heart burning,[6] till 1857, when after the Great Uprising, the Company's European forces were converted to the service of the Crown.

British Officers in Native Battalions

While Clive's reorganisation (1757) of the Indian troops under his command introduced for the first time a small nucleus of British Officers in the Indian battalions, the 1796 reorganisation greatly increased the number of British officers in the Native units. Previous to this reorganisation the establishment of British officers in a battalion had been a commandant and adjutant besides 10 subalterns commanding companies, a total of 12. Under the 1796 change, besides the colonel commanding the regiment, each battalion was given an establishment of 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Majar, 4 Captains, 11 Lieutenants and 5 Ensigns (besides 1 British non-commissioned officer), a total of 22 British officers. Under this re-organisation the prospects of advancement and amenities of life of the Company's British officer were distinctly improved but these were still less than those enjoyed by the King's European officers. Even in the 1824 reorganisation the high proportion of British officers in the native units was retained.

Establishment and Allowances of a Battalion of Native Foot Artillery consisting of ten Companies

Estabt.			*Pay*	*Batta in Cantonments*	*Addl. Batta in the field or when marching*
1	Colonel,	Total Regimental Pay and Allowances	1295.5.0		
1	Lieutenant Colonel,		727.14.0		
1	Major,		.560.14.6		
5	Captains		342.5.0		
10	1st-Lieutenants,		204.14.0		
5	2nd-Lieutenants,		167.10.6		
10	Subedars,	or 2 per Company,	52*a*00	15 00	15 00
20	Jemadars,	1 per Company,	17 00	7 80	7 80
60	Havildars,	6 per Company,	9 00	5 00	5 00
60	Naiks,	6 per Company,	7 00	5 00	5 00
20	Buglers,	2 per Company,	6*b*00	5*b*00	5*b*00
880	Privates,	88 per Company,	5 80	1 80	1 80
10	Lascars,	1 per Company,	4 120	1 30	1 00
10	Hand Bheesties,	2 per Company,	5 00	0 00	1 00
	Battalion Staff			*Estabd. Allow*	
1	Adjutant Non-effective,			212 7*c*	
1	Interpreter and Quarter Master do,			137*d*	

1	Surgeon,	For their Regimental Pay and Allowances, see Pay Table No. 46	300	
1	Assistant Surgeon		165	
1	Serjeant Major,		55	52*e*
1	Quarter Master Serjeant,		49	52*f*
1	Drill Serjeant		47	48*g*
1	Havildar Major,	Effective	77	*h*
1	Quarter Master Havildar,		5	
1	Drill Havildar,		5	
1	Drill Naik		5	8*i*
1	1st Bugle Major		5	
1	2nd ditto,		5	*j*
10	Pay Havildars or 1 per Co. Non-effective,		5	
10	Brigade ditto, or 1 per Co. Non-effective,		2	
1	Native Doctor,	Effective	15	*k*
11	Quarter Masters and Bazar Establishments,			*l*

Allowances

To officer Commanding the Battalion,	400	
To officers Commanding Companies,	30	
Ditto for Repair of Arms and Stationery,	20	
Ditto for Repairs of Camp Equipage,		*m*
Ditto for Mess,	120	

Additional Establishment and Allowances when in the Field or Marching.

Additional Batta as above detailed, one Additional Lascar only allowed to each Company when detached from Head Quarters.

a. The Subadar Major of Foot Artillery draws 25 rupees per month Brevet pay in addition.
b. Native Buglers draw the pay and batta of Privates. Both classes are allowed one rupee addl. pay after 16, and two rupees after 20 years service.
c. Staff pay 92.7, Horse 30, Office allowance 90.
d. Staff pay 62, Horse 30, Office allowance 45.
e. Includes 20 Rs. Staff pay and Rs. 6 13 4 batta.
f. Includes 14 Rs. Staff pay and Rs. 6 13 4 batta.
g. Includes 14 Rs. Staff pay and Rs. 6 13 4 batta.
h. With the pay and batta of Havildars.
i. Ditto ditto of Naik.
j. Ditto ditto of Buglers.
k. Pay 10, batta in Cantonments 5; additional batta when in the field or marching 5.—Native Doctors brought up at the Medical College draw superior rates of pay and batta.

l.	1 Moonshee,	30 0 0
	1 Moulvee,	8 0 0
	1 Pundit,	8 0 0
	1 Tindal, pay 7.8, half batta 2	9 8 0
	2 Beldars, each	3 8 0
	1 Chowdry,	11 0 0
	1 Mutsuddee,	5 0 0
	3 Flagmen and Weighmen, each,	3 0 0
	Allowances for a School Shed,	5 0 0

Note: The Tindal draws 2 Rupees in addition when in the field marching, and the Beldars one rupee each.

Position during 1796-1857

In 1796, the Company's European troops numbered 17,956 and the native troops were 84,232, 1 European to 4.691 natives. In 1813, the figures were 34,171 European and 165,000, 1 European to 4.854 natives. The figures in 1824 were 30,585 and 212,842 respectively, 1 to 6.959 and in 1830; 36,409 and 187,067, 1 European to 5.110 natives. Figures for king's troops and Company's troops (including St. Helena) were; in 1813, 21,490 and 179,632 (1 to 8.358); in 1823, 16,652 and 222,022 (1 to 13.333) and in 1830, 20,292 and 204,152 (1 King's to 10.060 Company's soldiers).

Presidency-wise, the Company's traps were distributed as follows:

Period	*Bengal*		*Madras*		*Bombay*		*Total*		*Local Forces and Military Policy*
	Europeans	*Natives*	*Europeans*	*Natives*	*Europeans*	*Natives*	*Europeans*	*Natives*	
1796	4842	32134	10020	38474	3094	13654	17956	84232	—
1813	15703	86062	13590	55847	4878	23991	34171	165900	—
1824	13565	122531	11884	57562	5136	32749	30585	212842	—
1830	15701	96897	12981	57749	7727	32421	36409	187067	—
1857	21432	137571	8708	49252	9360	44928	39500	231751	—

Disparities between Europeans and Natives

There was a lot of difference between European and Native troops in regard to rank, pay, promotion, pension, amenities and rations. The following tables show the difference in the weekly rations of provisions to the European and Indian soldiers.

25 Quarts of Lime Juice for every hundred men, for one month. One Horn Lantern and one Wax Candle per night, for each Ship. The proportions of Rice and Biscuit, depend so much upon local considerations, and the facility, or otherwise of preparing the latter, that it is difficult to prescribe any rule for future occasions. Biscuit being, however considered

Table of Weekly Rations of Provisions, &c. authorized to be served out to European Troops.

Biscuit	*Rice*	*Flour*	*Raisins*	*Peas or Stuet.*	*Sugar*	*Tea*	*Black Pepper*	*Drams*	*Spirit Vinegar per diem, or pints per week*	*Mustard*	*Beef, Seed*	*Meat Pork Country*	*Fire-*	*Water wood*
lbs.	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	*oz.*	*pints*	*oz.*	*oz.*	*oz.*	*	*pint.*	*oz.*	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	*galls.*
7	3½	1	4	1½	12	2	1	2	½	2		2	28	7

* 10 per cent, below London proof.
* 40 Drams to a Gallon, Wine measure.

as most nutritive, and being generally most acceptable, it is advisable, that as large a proportion, not exceeding the quantity above-mentioned, should be given of it as circumstances may warrant.

A—EUROPEAN TROOPS

According to Captain Leopold Von Orlich, (January 1843): "the *English Soldier* forms the real basis of the army in India; he is the instrument by which the immense power of India has been founded, and by which it is supported. Only 45,000 Europeans ! a mixture of all the lowest classes[7] of Great Britain, but hardy, adventurous men who, in hope of a better situation, have sold their lives for twenty years.[8]

The English soldier knows that he is in a foreign land, that on decisive occasions he must depend upon himself alone: "to conquer or to die," is his motto, which is so deeply rooted in him, that it seems to him incredible that he should ever be conquered; coolness and presence of mind are combined in his character with boldness and perseverance.

Liquor Casualities

Unhappily, however, the English soldiers are not temperate; they are addicted to *spirituous liquors*,[9] by which in this climate, so dangerous to Europeans, death makes fearful ravages among them. It may be assumed, that *most of the European regiments lose ten per cent* of their men in the first year of their being here. Thus, to mention only a few examples, 132 men of the 22d regiment died of cholera and fever in the first two months; the 86th lost in eight days, 1 officer and 23 men; the 28th in three weeks, 1 officer and 80 men; the 41st lost in the first three years, 11 officers and 235 men; and the 1st European Bengal regiment of grenadiers was so fearfully visited by fever on its march from Karnoul to Ferozpoor, that of 1000 men not the half were under arms, and 800 palanquins were employed in carrying the sick.

Table of Daily Rations of Provisions, etc. authorized to be served out to Native Troops

Hindoos who do not cook on board Ship																*Native Christians, Mahomedans, and other Natives who cook on board Ship*																				
Flour	*Choorah*	*Gram*	*Ghee*	*Salt*	*Tobacco*	*Beetlenuts*	*Paun Leaves*	*Chunam*	*Khut*	*Sugar*	*Tamarind*	*Water*	*Oil per week*	*Firewood*	*Oil per week*	*Rice**	*Dholl*	*Gram*	*Ghee*	*Salt*	*Tobacco**	*Chilies*	*Black Pepper*	*Garlick*	*Onions*	*Beetlenuts*	*Paun Leaves*	*Chunam*	*Khut*	*Turmerick*	*Sugar*	*Tamarind*	*Firewood*	*Water*	
oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.*				oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	gallon	oz.	lbs.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.		oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	lbs.	gallon
6	12	10	2	1	2	2	10	1/4	1/8	4	4	1	8	1	8	1½	4	2	2	1	2	1/4	1/8	1/4	1/4	2	10	1/4	1/8	1/4	4		4	1

The government does all that is possible to preserve the soldier, the loss of whom is of great importance to them as a pecuniary consideration alone, for *the Company loses 1000 rupees for every one that dies*. In Bengal only two or three regiments generally remain, exposed to the hot climate; the others are stationed in the northern provinces, or in the mountain; but before they have completed the long march thither, death, inspite of all warning and care, has already thinned their ranks.

Strict Discipline

The strict maintenance of discipline in the British army is proverbial, but it by no means degenerates into despotism.[10] It has often been contemplated to abolish flogging but it is affirmed that discipline would suffer by it; we must not however believe that this is an ordinary punishment, or executed in a summary manner, it cannot be inflicted, except after sentence of a court martial.

Composition of Army

The Company's army consists, according to the presidencies, of three divisions—the Bengal, the Madras, and the Bombay army.

The Bengal army consists of 2 regiments of European infantry (2000 men); 74 native regiments (81,400 men); 1 Ghurkha battalion (1000 men); 11 regiments of cavalry (6600 men); 7 brigades of artillery (7000 men); 1 corps of engineers (without men); 2 divisions of pioneers (1000 men); and 1 regiment of invalids (1000 men).

The Madras army consists of 2 regiments of European light infantry (2000 men); 52 native regiments (52,000 men); 8 regiments of cavalry (2400 men); 4 brigades of artillery (4000 men); 1 corps of engineers (without men); 2 divisions of pioneers (1000 men); and 1 regiment of invalids (1000 men).

The Bombay army consists of 2 European regiments of light infantry (2000 men); 26 native regiments (26,000 men); 3 regiments of cavalry (1800 men); 2 brigades of artillery (2000 men); 1 corps of engineers; 1 division of pioneers (500 men); and 1 regiment of invalids (1000 men).

Besides these, there are, under British officers,—the corps at Hyderabad, the Deccan, Mysore, Oude, Shekawatte, and the Bheel troops in Kandeish and Malwa. There likewise are in Bengal, Mysore, Guzzerat, and Sinde, 18 regiments of irregular cavalry.

Of royal troops there are in India 30,000 men, of whom one-seventh are cavalry.

Thus it may be assumed that the Anglo-Indian army is 264,000 men strong, commanded by 820 British general and staff officers, and 5500 subaltern officers, who, according to Major Everest's map, are spread over a kingdom of 1,076,590 square miles, and are to defend a boundary of 707 geographical miles. This includes four Mahometan states: Hyderabad, 8887 geographical square miles, and ten millions of inhabitants; Oude, 2392 square miles, and 3,000,000 of inhabitants; Bhopal, 677 square miles; and Tonk, 1101 square miles. Eight Maharatta states: Satarah, 794 square miles;

Gwalior, 3294 square miles; Berar, 5673 square miles; Indore, 424½ square miles; Baroda, 552 square miles; Kolapoor, 318 square miles; Dhar, 146 square miles, and the little Dewas. Nineteen Rajpoot states—Odeypoor, 1178 square miles; Jyepoor, 1342½ square miles; Jodhpore 3413 square miles; Kotah, 438 square miles; Bunda, 229 square miles; Alwar, 323 square miles; Beekaneer, 1806 square miles; Jaysulmeer, 978 square miles; Kishungurh, 72½ square miles; Banswara, 144 square miles; Partaubgur, 145 square miles; Dongurpur, 200 square miles; Karouly, 187 square miles; Sirohi, 302 square miles; Cutch, 739½ square miles; Rewah, 1031 square miles; and Dhatten Jhansi, Maharatta and Turrah, 1617 square miles. Six other Hindoo states: Mysore, 2800 square miles; Travancore, 457 square miles; Cochin, 197 square miles; Bhurtpoor, 194½ square miles; Dhoolpoor, 162½ square miles; and Sanjore, 93½ square miles. The Sikh states under British protection, 1662 square miles; and those in many small states and jaghires, among which those in Samblepoor and Bundelcund, are the chief. Lastly, the mountain chiefs of Sikkim, Manicpoor, Singboom, Chota Nagpoor, Sirgoojah, Sumbhulpoor, Oudepore, Tanjore, Curg, the Bareitsh family, Ferozpoor, and the jaghires in the southern Maharatta country. The area of all these states under British protection, is about 45,000 geographical square miles; whereas the countries belonging to the English, comprehend about 62,648 square miles.

There are besides, quite distinct from the regular army, about 300,000 men, who are furnished with matchlocks and shields, and employed in the finance, police, and judicial departments. The greater part of this force is regularly organised and trained, and on twentieth is mounted and armed like the irregular cavalry.

Officers' Pay and Expenses

The pay of the officers, as well as that of the privates, is very high, in comparison with that of the European armies; but the considerable expenses to which the European is liable in this country requires such high salaries, The pay of the general in chief is 10,000 rupees per month, that of a lieutenant-general 6000 rupees; of a colonel of infantry in the field 1280, and of a colonel of cavalry 1467; of a captain of infantry 411, and of cavalry 560 rupees: of a lieutenant 254, and of an ensign 200 rupees. The sepoy receives nine rupees monthly, of which one rupee and a half is deducted for his clothing.

The clothing is provided for, under the superintendence of Clothing Boards, for each army. From the surplus funds, each full colonel of a regiment derives an annual revenue of 500 sterling.

A European regiment of cavalry costs, in Bengal, 73,778*l*. sterling per annum; a European regiment of infantry, 51,754*l*, a native regiment of cavalry, 35,784*l*. sterling, a native regiment of infantry, 24,492*l*. The Bengal army cost in the year 1841, 4,000,000*l*. sterling (at 40*l*. per man); the Madras army, 2,859,927*l*. sterling (at 45*l*. sterling per man); and the Bombay army 1,547,640*l*. sterling (at 47*l*. sterling per man); consequently the whole army 8,407,567*l*. sterling.

The corps of officers decides the value and the capability of an army that it is the chain which gives unity and character to the great moveable body, and that it gives the stamp to the whole army. Through its medium the general directs the instruments which determine the fate of states, and gives a new bias to the events of the world.

It is the sound vigorous good sense, and the chivalrous spirit of the corps of officers, which has raised to such a height the power of England in India. High spirits, thirst for glory, conscious independence, self-confidence, a practical mind, and the ability of quickly accommodating himself to every circumstance, are the peculiar characteristics of the English officer, more perhaps than of any corps of officers of the European armies. But these noble qualities are not merely gifts of his nationality—no, he is indebted for them to the manifold important vicissitudes of his life, which lead him to almost every country in the world, whereby he becomes acquainted with the most diverse nations, and is initiated into the most complex of relations.

India—A School

India is justly considered as the school for English officers. Though the wars in that country may differ in many particulars from those in Europe, yet in the most essential points they are nearly, if not quite, the same, and in other respects they are more difficult. Almost all the distinguished generals of Great Britain have been trained, and have gathered their experience in India. The Duke of Wellington came from that country to the Spanish peninsula, as an accomplished commander.

The political position of England in India requires more than any other country in the world, an army inured to war and ready for combat. Ten years' peace might be more detrimental there, than thirty years' peace to an European army, because it might be forgotten that India must be governed on military principles; and, in order to save expense, the unhappy thought might be conceived of reducing the army, diminishing its pay, or otherwise neglecting it.

Though the military officer is sensible that the sphere of action of the civil officer is more extensively important, and his task more difficult, yet, as he feels that the latter works and acts under his protection, a degree of ill-will must ensue in a government like that of India, the whole cannot prosper unless both act hand in hand, and both enjoy equal privileges and equal honours. It therefore appears inconceivable how power could have been given to political agents to dispose of the troops at their discretion—nay, even to direct their operations. We have seen times when men, without any experience in the art of war, laid commands upon generals, in such cases the agent should be responsible, but the general was judged according to the result.

Staff Appointments

A peculiar institution, which, with all its other advantages, is very in-

jurious, is what are called the "staff appointments," i.e., appointments for the service of the general staff. These are not merely confined to the troops, but are also appointments in the country. They, indeed, place officers in the most important and most instructive spheres of action, but they deprive the regiments of their services, and thus draw the officer entirely away from the troops, a system which cannot fail to have an injurious effect upon the regiments which are so scantily provided with European officers. I became acquainted with a captain, who, in twenty years' service, had been only two years with the troops, had left his regiment ever since, had always resided in one spot, and never yet seen the cavalry or artillery ! Three years ago Bengal had 406 such staff appointments, Bombay 189, and Madras 301, I must, however, observe that, every one who aims at such an appointment, must first be examined, by a committee, in Persian and Hindostanee.

On the other hand, the association of the officers has great advantages, and has a very beneficial influence. I have had the good fortune to be acquainted with most of the European armies, but I have found in none more genuine cordiality and selfdenial than in the English. In this no one will be behind another; in this they consider themselves all as equals; the superior officer is not distant from the younger, whose interests are his own—in joy and in sorrow they are one.

A corps of officers in India is, in the true sense of the word, a large family. There is something hearty, confidential in the manner in which the youngest officer at table challenges the general to drink a glass of wine with him. At the same time, there is the strictest regard to duty in the service, and never a neglect of that respect which the younger owes to the elder.

Old Generals

But the British army in India requires, like most other armies, the vigour and energy of youth at the head of the troops. Most of the generals and staff officers are too advanced in age, and never find opportunity to arrange and to move great masses. They have passed the greater part of their lives in India; some have not visited their native country since they were seventeen years of age;[11] others, perhaps, only for a short time: the Indian mode of life has become a second nature to them. Even among the captains, young men are seldom found, most of them not having attained that rank till after eighteen years' service, though they obtain the rank of brevet captain after fifteen years' service.

Combatants and the 'Train'

The difficulties with which the general of an Indian army has to contend, exceed all our notions of the mode of making war. He has to provide for the maintenance of two armies the combatants and the train; the latter being the most numerous, the most irregular, and the most burdensome; not only, because all must live under tents, but, on account of the large numbers of servants required for attendance, and for conveying all the necessaries of life, and the strict adherence of the Hindoo to his

customs. Each sepoy carries his kitchen utensils with him when he goes into camp, erects his own little hearth, surrounds it with a circle, to keep the uninitiated from the food which he prepares for himself alone, and, in this, no caste may mingle with the other.

In a European regiment of infantry, one serjeant, one corporal, and fourteen privates form a society under one tent, served by a *clashy* (tent-striker), a *behishty* (water-carrier), and a *dhoby* (washerman), and require four camels in a sepoy regiment, two serjeants, two corporals, and twenty-eight men belong to one tent, with two *clashys* and two *behishtys*. In the cavalry, each soldier has a groom, who dresses and feeds the horses; two soldiers have a water-carrier, and, two horses, have always one grass-cutter. The tents and other necessaries follow on camels and waggons.

To every piece of artillery there are four water-carriers, four grass-cutters, four grooms, two washermen, and a tent-striker. The army of reserve, consisting of five regiments of cavalry, twelve regiments of infantry, and forty-eight guns, was supplied for the conveyance of its baggage, &c., with 164 elephants, 1745 camels, 2000 draught oxen, and 5422 baggage servants.

When the troops, returning from Afghanistan, had joined it at Ferozpoor, there were 36,000 men under arms, with 102 pieces of cannon, 400 elephants, 25,000 camels, 6000 draught oxen, and nearly 100,000 servants of every description. This army, when in camp, occupied a space of about ten miles, and, on an accurate calculation, extended, on its march, along a line of eight miles

That relish, for the comfort of life, which the Englishman so greatly enjoys in his own country, accompanies him to India; but here, where nature is so lavish of her bounties, where enjoyments are so various, where the climate, the manners, and the customs provide so profusely for the conveniences of life, these comforts are found in a much higher degree.

Numerous Servants

The great number of servants required[12]—a lieutenant having seldom fewer than ten, a captain generally fourteen, and a general above twenty; and, the separation from the natives, with respect to whom he is obliged to conduct himself like a superior being,—compels every one to form his own establishment. Hence, in the cantonments there are as many country houses, called bungalows, as there are officers, and where new stations are established, the handsomest residences, surrounded with lovely gardens, arise within a short time. Behind the bungalows are the clay-built barracks of the natives, looking like huts, rather than regular buildings, while the barracks of the European regiments, on the contrary, are built with comparative grandeur, and with every possible attention to climate.

Every corps of officers has its own mess bungalow, which consists of a drawing-room, dining-room, billiard-room, and library; a garden supplies the table with necessary vegetables, fruits, and flowers. The dinners seldom consist of less than ten dishes, served in silver and rich porcelain, which

is all carried with them when they travel in this extensive country. The mess alone, costs each officer 60 rupees per month; yet, we must do the English officer the justice to say, that, when called to use the utmost exertion, he also readily submits to the greatest privations; he will not renounce these comforts where they are to be had, but he cheerfully dispenses with them when necessity requires it.

If an English officer is born in India, his parents send him to England before he is eight years old, lest he should fall a prey to the climate. Here we find him in the college at Addiscombe, where he is educated for his profession, and, in his eighteenth year, returns to his parents in India.[13] For a few years he is occupied in the service, in learning the native languages; the new sphere of action, the novel impressions made on him by the natural scenery and the inhabitants, are very attractive to him. But, when this novelty has worn off, his interest in it has disappeared; it becomes indifferent to him, and the more disagreeable, when he is bound to a station, and the climate becomes unsuited to his constitution.

Daily Routine

In the morning before sunrise, the troops are exercised, or he takes a ride on horseback, but this must be terminated before the beams of the sun become too powerful. A bath refreshes him after this exertion, and, at nine o'clock, he meets his comrades at breakfast. After this he passes his time till two o'clock at the billiard-table, in reading, working, smoking the hookah, or in a *dolce far niente*. At this hour he is again in the mess-room, to take a second warm breakfast, tiffin as the English here call it. After this the time glides away as before; and it is not till the sun is near setting, that the service again calls upon him, or that he takes bodily exercise, in riding, playing at tennis, or cricket. At eight dinner is served, which is rarely finished before ten o'clock.

The only interruptions to this monotonous life, are horse-races and parties, especially the chase of the tiger and wild boar; a recreation, and at the same time a danger, which every one desires to enjoy, and spares neither expense nor pains to procure. The Duke of Wellington always looked for such bold lovers of the chase, when some decisive blow was to be struck.

Return to Home

Ten years' service entitles the officer to three years' leave of absence, of which he seldom neglects to avail himself, because in general his health and attachment to his native country lead him to return to Europe; or he seeks for the restoration of his health at one of the five sanatory stations of Mahabaleshwur mountains, Neilgherries, Simla, Cherra-Punjy (in the Cosseah mountains), and in Darjyling. If he is married and has a family, he probably purchases an estate, and considers India as his second country. Very few of the officers feel themselves actually happy in this extraordinary country: most of them withdraw after five and twenty years'

service, hoping to lead a more congenial life at home, but find that they have become estranged from their relations and friends, and cannot attain the sought-for happiness.

B—NATIVE TROOPS

Major General Sir John Malcolm wrote in 1820 thus: Among the many political considerations likely to affect the future prosperity and security of the British empire in India, there appears hardly one of more magnitude than the attachment of the natives of our army.

Native Army—the Pillar

The great proportion of the inhabitants of India are devoted to peaceful occupations, and are consequently, to a certain degree, unable, if they were willing, to defend that Government, to which a sense of benefit may have rendered them well affected. The object or our laws and institutions is to repress if not destroy those habits which distinguish the military tribes subject to our rule: but such changes, to be safe, must be gradual; we cannot otherwise expect to escape the dangers and convulsions with which they are likely to be attended. As long, however, as we can repose on the fidelity of our native army, we are safe from internal danger; but every disquietude must assume an alarming appearance, when associated with disaffection in that army; nor can we obtain relief by an accession of European force, for the very means which would give us security for the moment, would aggravate the evil, (from causes which will be noticed hereafter,) as they would tend to lessen the efficiency, and weaken the attachment of those native troops, by whose courage and fidelity alone we can preserve India. As the truth of these observations will hardly admit of dispute, we can contemplate no measures of more importance than those which are calculated to incite and confirm the obedience and allegiance of the native corps employed in our service. The rigid principles of economy, and the precise forms of our civil rule, should both yield to the establishment of this cornerstone of our strength; as, without it, the vast fabric which has been raised with such pains must totter to its base at every tempest with which it is assailed.

The native army has undergone many changes from its origin. When the British government first established itself in India, military tactics in Europe were in a less advanced state than at present, and the caution with which a few Europeans, endeavouring to conciliate the natives of India to fight their battles on a foreign shore, were obliged to act, prevented the introduction of any part of those tactics which could in the least interfere with their prejudices, habits, or religion. A jacket of English broad cloth, made up in the shape of his own dress, the knowledge of his manual exercise, and a few military evolutions, constituted the original sepoy; and with qualification, and his English fire arms, he was found to possess an incalculable superiority over the other natives of India, who, ignorant of the

first principles of discipline (which enable men to act in a body), were easily defeated, however great their numbers by a small corps of their brothers, armed, disciplined, and directed, by the art, intelligence, and energy of European leaders.

Native Commanders Treated with Respect

It was natural that the early sepoy should share in that feeling of pride which his superiority in discipline obtained him over his countrymen; and the native officers in the employment of the Company were gratified not only by the opportunities which they had of acquiring military distinction, but of improving their fortunes. There were but few European officers in the first sepoy battalions. A captain, an adjutant, with a serjeant to each company, was the original establishment. Commands frequently fell to soubahdars and jemadars; and the comparative laxity of discipline, as well as the general corruption of the times, enabled the whole of the native army, from the soubahdar to the sepoy to derive pecuniary benefit from the nature of the services on which they were occasionally employed. To this advantages, which rendered the service of the Company desirable, and often lucrative, was added a still more powerful attraction in the kind treatment which they generally received from their European officers, the number of whom, to every battalion; was so small, that from necessity, if not from inclination, they acted as much upon principles of conciliation as coercion and their authority in their corps rested more on affection than fear. They were most particular in their conduct to the native officers, towards whom they behaved with regard and respect proportionate to the responsibility of their situations. One of those native officers, who held the rank of native commandant, often possessed an influence to the corps nearly equal to the European commander. As a strong and convincing proof of this, it may be mentioned, that many of the oldest battalions of the native army of Madras are respectively known to this day by the name of some former native commandant.

This system, which had, undoubtedly, many defects, had also much to recommend it; for though the European commanding officer, who acted without check in the exercise of a great trust, generally made his corps a source of pecuniary advantage, in which he was aided by the native commandant, who shared in this indirect emolument; yet both had a strong interest in the character and conduct of the corps, to the men of which they were almost always kind and generous.

Educated European Officers

An increase of their European officers, a great alteration in their dress, and an improvement in their discipline, made material changes in the constitution of the native corps, and these took place through several causes. The native princes had trained sepoys in European tactics; and to maintain a superiority over them it became necessary that the native army of the Company's government should make further advances in the military

art, which they were enabled to do, not only from the great improvements which had taken place in that science in Europe, and from the example furnished by some of the king's regiments sent to India, but from the number of officers of liberal education and respectable character, whom a prospect of advantage had at this period drawn to the service of the Company. According to the opinion of many able officers, it was under this system that the men became most attached to their officers, and the native army attained as great a degree of efficiency as it has ever known. Captains were selected to the command of corps, which was an object of sufficient emolument and trust to limit the views of officers of that rank (then one of the highest in the service) to its attainment. These officers were almost invariably chosen from their reputation as sepoy officers; that is, officers who united to all the military qualifications of a soldier, a particular knowledge of the prejudices, habits and characters of the men who they were appointed to command.

The native officers continued under this system to enjoy great respect and regard. This circumstance was chiefly owing to the European commanding officer, who, from his station and the emoluments attached to it, enjoyed a consideration and consequence which enabled him not only to confer distinction by his personal favour and regard, but to keep in complete check and control the younger officers of the service, and to direct their European and Native Troops minds to a moderate and indulgent conduct towards all the natives; but particularly to those who, from their gallantry or long services, were entitled to respect and attention, and which it was proper to show them on every ground of policy as well as of generosity.

Another Great Change

The native service underwent another great change in the year 1796, when new regulations were introduced, which a train of events, connected with the comparative rank of the Company's officers with those of His Majesty's serving in India, had rendered indispensably necessary. By these regulations, two battalions of native infantry were formed into one regiment; to which the same number of officers were allowed as to a regiment in the King's service. Regimental rise to the rank of major was, at the same time, introduced; and this, it was hoped, by attaching the officers to corps, would confirm and strengthen reciprocal confidence and connexion between the European officers and the sepoys, which had ever been deemed the most essential principle in the constitution of the native army. It was also expected that the increased number of European officers would greatly add to the efficiency of the native corps, as the smallest parties that could be detached would be commanded by an European officer, and have the advantage of his knowledge and experience.

The most unhappy effect of these regulations was the alteration they produced in the condition of the commanding officers, whose situation, under the operation of them, was attended with the little of either

advantage or distinction. It was, in fact, no longer an object of ambition, as it had been formerly. It had become a station of trouble, without influence and consideration and every officer of interest or reputation in the service exerted himself to avoid it, and to obtain a government command, or a situation on the general staff.

Dead-end of Promotions

The condition of the native officers of our sepoy corps has often been the subject of the most serious attention of government; but though their allowances have been a little increased, no measure have yet been taken which we can consider as adequate to the object of creating and maintaining motives for their continued fidelity and attachment. In an army of nearly two hundred and forty thousand natives, the highest pay which a soubahdar of infantry can attain is 174 rupees per month and after attaining that rank,[14] he enjoys no consideration which can save him from the harshness of European officer, a boy, perhaps, who has just joined that corps to which the native officer, has perhaps belonged for thirty or forty years. He has in barrack, and in camp, no other accommodation than that provided for the sepoys; and although on his retiring to the invalid list, his pay is continued, that is become, from habit, necessary for his support, so that he can make no provision for his children; and as pride in his own condition, or alarm at their being subject to corporal punishment, prevents in most cases his bringing them up in the Army, they are generally a burden on him while he lives; and when he dies they are left poor and discontented.

There are, no doubt, a few instances in the army, where a small pension has been given to a native officer, and part of it, in some very rare cases, has been continued to his family; but such instances have seldom occurred, except when the person to whom the reward was granted had an opportunity of distinguishing himself beyond all the common changes of the service; and even then, to obtain this notice has required the exertion of all the interest and influence of those under whom that fortunate native officer acted. It cannot be expected that the few rewards, so obtained, should have any general effect as an encouragement to the efforts of this class of our native army. Under such a complete limitation of their views, can it be a subject of surprise that in cases of severe trial, particularly of mutiny, the native officers have seldom displayed a spirit of activity and zeal. They have in such cases been almost always objects of suspicion, and have often evinced a sullen indifference of conduct, which appeared to be produced by the absence of those motives of action which were necessary to support men in their situation. Placed between officers they were bound to obey, and offenders with whom they had kindered and national ties, they had a difficult and dangerous task to perform; if they have failed, we must blame the system, not them, but when we can infuse life into that system, and elevate their minds to further objects of ambition, we shall succeed in animating them to continued efforts in our service; until then they will stop

where we do, and be more anxious to enjoy in response the small objects they may have already attained, than to incur hazards disproportioned to any hopes they have reason to indulge with regard to the future.

Opportunities in Civil Life

If the native of our power in India requires as it certainly does, the exclusion of the native officers from the exercise of high military command, and that gate to distinction is barred by policy, others should be opened. In the strictest conformity to those principles upon which the native army is formed, we might lead the minds of these troops to expect comfort and distinction in civil life, as the reward of approved military service; and by directing their ambition to the natural and seductive object of acquiring in their tribe, and enjoying some privileges, however trivial, which, under certain regulations, must descend to their children, we should not only discover a motive sufficiently powerful to supply the place of that which a jealous but wise policy obliges us to withhold, but place their fidelity beyond the power of corruption. If such measures were adopted, the native service would become popular and respected; it would be embraced with eagerness by men of the first families in the country; and in the course of years we might expect the attachment of our subjects to be greatly improved by a spirit of active allegiance, which would be generally diffused by veterans and their descendants, whose claim to their rank or land was founded in the gratitude of a state whom they had served with fidelity and distinction.

Men of Passive Virtues

The men who form the native army of the Company are almost all sober, and of good conduct in private life. Drunkenness, as a general vice, is, indeed, unknown; and notorious immorality is rare. But their virtues are more of a passive than an active nature. They consist more in forbearance, from fear of offending against their civil institutions and the rigid tenets of their religion, than from any sense of the beauty of virtue, or the deformity of vice. These men appear, in many cases, hardly to consider themselves as free moral agents; they often blindly resign their judgment to the law of usage, the dictates of their priest, or the influences, of their superior in case or station: and, under such influence, they change, in an instant, their mild, inoffensive, and pliant character, for that of the most determined obstinacy and savage ferocity.

Fond of Show and High Titles

All the natives of India, but particularly those of military classes, are fond of show and of high titles;[15] and they often seem to prize the semblance, almost as much as the reality of power. It is indeed surprising to see the consequence which they attach to every mark of out-ward respect, especially when bestowed by their superiors: and, partaking of the character of his countryman, the native soldier of the Company, intelligent

and quick in his conception, full of vanity and a love of preeminence, if not of glory, is of all men the most sensible to attention or neglect. Though the climate disposes him to inertness, and his frame is seldom very robust, he may be flattered and encouraged to make the most extraordinary exertions; while harshness or cruelty serves only to subdue his spirit, and sink him into apathy, if it does not rouse him to resentment.

Cold Performance of Duty

It may be stated as the result of the fullest experience, that the native troops of India depend more than any in the world upon the officers who command them: when treated by these with notice and kindness, and when marked consideration is shewn to their usages, they become attached, and evince, on all occasions, a zeal and valour that can hardly be surpassed; but when they have not confidence in those who command them, when they are made secondary, or treated in any manner indicating a want of reliance on them; much more when any of act of their commanders betrays ignorance or contempt of their prejudices or religion, they become spiritless or discontented. This is the natural consequence of their condition, as mercenaries of a nation with whom they have no ties beyond those that compel them to a cold performance of their duty, and such as they form with their immediate officers; but able leaders, who understand how to infuse their own spirit into those they command, find no difficulty in making what impressions they desire on the minds of men, whose education and sentiments predispose them to participate in every feeling associated with military fame and distinction.

Superior Class

Whatever measures we adopt to remedy defects in the existing system, these must provide rewards suited to their condition for a certain number of the most deserving native officers; and these rewards should be of a character not only to give life to this class, but to raise the hopes of all who shall be striving to obtain similar rank and consideration. We have been compelled to cast down much in India, and almost all whom we found raised above others in the community have perished under our levelling rule. The necessity of creating and maintaining a superior class amongst the natives is recommended by every consideration of wise and generous policy: and assuredly there is no measure more calculated to aid in obtaining this end then that of conferring on the veteran, who has gained reputation in the army, rank and consideration in his native district, so as to render him an object of respect to his countrymen who will see in his services to the state a legitimate claim to favour and distinction, whatever may have been his former condition. This mode of reward is quite accordant with the usage of all Asiatic states, and its adoption by us would be congential to the habits and feelings of the whole population.

The consideration given to distinguished native officers should, in a greater or less degree, according to their claims, be extended to their

descendants; and their sons might be permitted to pass through the grades of our army with a trivial addition of pay, and exemption from corporal punishment. The constitution of the army will never admit of our introducing volunteers, or native cadets. Every man who enters it must work his way, by his own efforts, from the station of a private to that of a soubahdar; but nothing could be more popular with the sepoys than to see the sons of their officers mingled in their ranks, yet enjoying a notice and respect that added to the value of that station in life to which they all aspired.

Native commissioned officers when employed on the staff, as they frequently are, should receive a fixed allowance, and not be left, as they have hitherto been, to look to a future reward, depending as much on the influence of the officer under whom they acted as the services they performed. The value of their efforts, if judiciously directed in this line of duty, is very great, and cannot, in some cases, be supplied by those of any European officer. They are also frequently required for specific charge or command, and this employment should come under the head of staff duty. The selection for such stations, when pay was attached to them, would constitute both reward and encouragement to the class to which they belonged.

Beneficial Measures

The above measures would be very beneficial, and not attended with any large expenditures; but their operation would be limited to the higher ranks; and however much the favour and notice extended to them might influence others, more is required to cement the union of the interests of the state with that of the general body of the troops by whom it is defended. To do this effectually, the sepoy should be taught to look to meritorious services in army as the road to employment under the civil administration of his native province. A certain period of service in the regular army should be an indispensable qualification in all candidates for situations suited to persons of military habits; and there is no doubt that all the duties of police, which are distinct from the hereditary village establishment, would be as well performed by men who had passed through the army, as by any other class, if not better. The sepoys employed in police duties might have a privilege of getting part of their pay commuted, if they wished it, for grants of waste land, provided they possessed the means of bringing it into cultivation.

The general introduction of such a plan would be attended with great and manifold advantages. If well organized, it would encourage recruits and reward service, and would promote internal order and prosperity; nor is it a slight recommendation that, while it gave the best hold upon the continued attachment of our native army, by multiplying our means of rewarding meritorious individuals it would be attended with a saving instead of an increase of expense. The only difficulty that could impede its successful accomplishment has been before noticed, and the necessity of the

measures may be adduced as another argument in favour of selecting the magistrates and superintendents of police from a class of men who are accustomed to command soldiers.

Military Government

Sudden charges in any system of administration are unwise, and it would be sufficient, if this plan were approved, to make its gradual introduction imperative. The details would be adapted to local circumstances, but no deviation should be allowed as to the fundamental principles on which it is grounded. These are political and connected with our very existence in India. Our government of that country is essentially military, and our means of preserving and improving our possessions through the operation of our civil institutions depend on our wise and politic exercise of that military power on which the whole fabric rests. This is a recognised fact; but, unless a conviction of its truth is continually impressed on the minds of those placed at the head of the Indian administration, it will be in vain to attempt plans which will meet with every obstacle that partial and local views, a desire of personal influence and power, or attachment to established system, can devise or create to impede and defeat their execution.

Notes and References

1. It will be admitted that our military successes in India have proceeded from the efforts of the British and Indian troops in conjunction as well as separately. It is only by uniting as closely as possible the two descriptions of the troops, that we can hope to preserve our rule, either from internal commotion or external attack. Major D. Wilson in *Parliamentary Select Committee Report*, 1832. The native Indian soldiers are to us collectively exactly like the limbs of our bodies individually. They are the bones and muscles of the whole frame, of which the Europeans are brains and nerves. *The Views and Opinions of Brig. Gen. John-Jacob* (1858).
2. The narrative of an Empire's rise and progress usually tells how the brook became a river, and the river became a sea. But the history of British India is peculiar and incongruous. It began without a strip of territory. A warehouse was expanded into a province, a province into an Empire. *The English in Western India*.
3. The constitution of India being decidedly military, the Natives who have not yet acquired European ideas naturally consider military men as the only nobles, and as such are disposed to yield a more cheerful obedience than they would to civilians. Capt. Page in *Parliamentary Select Committee Report*, 1832.
4. A name used in the 17th and 18th centuries for dark-skinned or half-caste claimants of Portuguese descent, and Christian profession. *Hobson-Jobson*.
5. The Company repaid to the King's Government everything expended in this country in respect of King's regiments serving in India. Strength of His Majesty's troops was 1813—Cavalry: 188 Officers + 3884 Rank and File, Infantry: 655 + 16763; 1824—Cavalry: 122 + 2548, Infantry: 466 + 13259; 1830—Cavalry: 103 + 2458, Infantry 649 + 17082.
6. Section 22(2) of the Articles of War provided "That when so ever officers of the Royal forces shall be associated in duty with those of the Company in India, the former are invariably to take command and precedence of the latter of the

same grade, notwithstanding that their Commissions may be of a later date." On service in the field, the supreme commands were generally given to King's officers.

The rank of colonel was conferred upon the Company's officers in 1829 and that too in India only. When the troops went to Egypt from India, the officers were told that their commissions were good for nothing.

Different rules of promotion governed King's and Company's officers. Officers in one class could attain to rank by the rule of seniority alone, those other might rise by purchase or patronage.

The rule which obtained in His Majesty's service, 'that the European Soldiers shall receive their pay daily' had the most demoralizing effect among the Company's troops.

There was an European regiment in the service of the East India Company at each Presidency, and provided principal source of supplying non-commissioned officers and privates for employment in the different branches of the Company's Armies.

By the Regulations of 1795-96 officers of the Company's service were deemed equally eligible to hold the situation of Commander-in-Chief as King's officers but even during the next many years no Company's Officer was nominated to that honour.

7. The author of 'The Presidential Armies of India', says that "The European soldiers were a shabby-looking stunted set of men, because the Company would only enlist Protestants-diminutives, dwarfish, crooked recruits have gone to supply their settlements. Objecting to their religion looks like partiality; for the topasses in India are all of the same principles." (The ban on Roman Catholics lasted well into the 19th century.) That the East India Company's army men were little more than mannikins, a glance at thousands of names in the registers of recruits at the India Office showed but one six-footer who was enlisted for the cavalry.

"Throughout a long series of years, the English in India, as moral beings, lagged far behind their brethren in Europe. Time was, when they *imported into their eastern settlements all the vices and none of the virtues of Christians;* when Christianity was looked upon by the natives of Hindustan only as another name for irreligion and immorality; when to be a Christian was, in their estimation, to be lustful, rapacious, cruel; a loud and angry sot; a contemner of God and a scourage to his fellows. Little by little, this stigma wore away: but slow indeed was the progress of decency and morality until towards the close of the eighteenth century." *The English in India*—Our Social Morality (1844).

8. In England, the East India Company (first known as the London Company) due to the difficulty in obtaining recruits, introduced the short service system. At one time the contract was for ten years; later that was shortened to five. After that, if fit even extended their service by periods of three years. *Bengal: Past and Present.*

9. There was little or no sport for the English military men. Their barracks were ill-lighted; three drains of rum daily half doped them making them forget they were human beings. In every regiment, rum as well as beer could be bought in the canteen. Two drains of rum and one quart of beer were all a man was allowed to buy in his own name during the day. But *bhisties* brought in *arrack* (a strong or hard drink) in bhistie bags, which was sold at one pice ber dram-64 for one rupee. *Bengal—Past and Present.* Punch, or arrack, being always cheap, were the common drinks of the young military men; and pretty freely were they consumed, at all hours from morning to night. *The English in India* (1844).

10. The punishment of flogging on native soldiers was almost abolished except for the crime of Stealing, Marauding or Gross Insubordination, when the individual was deemed unworthy to continue in the ranks of the Army. Such cases of corporal punishment required prier confirmation of General Officer of the Davison. *G.O.C. Circular 19th March,* 1827. In the Madras Presidency however,

the use of rattan was abolished and the cat-of-nine tails substituted vide *Regulation VIII of 1828* passed by the Governor-in-Council of Fort St. George on the 29th April, 1828.

11. The European officers of the Company's army commenced their service as cadets. They were eligible to be appointed cadets at 16 years of age.

12. Hadley, about 1780, mentions the following as the expenditure necessary for an officer.—"A captain in garrison requires about thirty servants, namely a cashier, at 20 rupees a month; a house steward, 10 rupees; market man, 4 rupees; two waiters (generally slaves without wages); a cook, 6 rupees; his mate, 2 rupees; two running footmen, 8 rupees; a messenger, 4 rupees; eight bearers for the palankeen, 33 rupees; pipe bearer, 4 rupees; woman to clean the house, 4 rupees; porter at the door, 4 rupees; ink boy, 4 rupees; necessary man, 2 rupees; groom, 6 rupees; grass cutter, 2 rupees. If he keeps a female house keeper and a carriage his expenses will be more. In the field he will want thirty porters (koolees), as everything is carried by hand, at 4 rupees each monthly. So little were they acquainted with these matters in Leadenhall Street, that an order went out limiting the Commander-in-Chief to fifty koolies, when in fact, he can hardly carry his baggage with three times that number."

13. In England, the cadets were educated at Addiscombe and their education and training mainly in artillery and cavalry was followed in Madras and Bombay in the Depot of Instruction. In Bengal Presidency a Military College or institution was established towards the end of 1802 at Baraset about fifteen miles from the Government House at Calcutta, for the reception and training of cavalry and infantry cadets arriving in India.

It was closed during the Mahratta war, was re-opened in 1806 and was finally closed on 1st September, 1811. The cadets were required to acquire knowledge of vernacular language prior to their posting to some regiment. Much indiscipline prevailed in the College. Ponies, terriers, pariah dogs, shooting, duels, sauntering about the barracks, smoking, drinking, gaming and much worse amusements formed the idle occupation of the many. By an order of 1808 by the Court of Directors the cadet on arrival in India, was made subject to martial law.

The College of Fort William at Calcutta was founded by Marquis Wellesley, the Governer General, in 1800 for the instructions of young Civil Servants of the East India Company. After the close of Baraset Cadet College, junior officers were occasionally permitted to avail themselves of the facilities it afforded for the study of the languages of the country.

14. During the year 1830 the Native commissioned officers numbered 3877 and the non-commissioned and privates to 182,527, which gives the proportion of one Native commissioned officer to about 47 sepoys.

The Native commissioned officers were promoted from the ranks through the grade of naick or corporal, and havildar or serjeant, to that of jemadar the lower, and subadar the higher Native commissioned grade. To these the rank of subadar-major was, under an order issued by the Court of Directors on the 8th November 1814, latterly added.

"There is no instance (I have heard of) of an European soldier being under a black man, for the serjeants are superior in command to even the first black officer in the army. Therefore although in the bulk of the army, the natives are most numerous, the power and command is vested entirely in the Europeans." Mrs. Kindersley's *Letter dt. Allahabad, Sept. 1767.*

15. Ornaments and distinctions are highly valued by the natives; their officers are rewarded with gold neek chains and medals; the latter are also given to private soldiers, who never lay them aside, and even fasten to their white national dress. Captain Leopold von Orlich's *Travels in India.*

8

The Military Adventurers

In the second half of the 18th century India had broken up into a number of warring States. Many adventurous soldiers trained in European warfare and military discipline, including the British, joined the fray to make fortune. Some amassed fantastic wealth. Clive, for instance, returned from India with gold and jewels which made him the richest commoner in England. While some of these military adventurers created armies, conquered kingdoms, overturned princes, and ruled provinces weilding much personal power, the British among these and the lesser soldiers of fortunes designedly or unconsciously, directly or indirectly worked towards one end by assisting in bringing about the conditions that paved the way for the establishment of English supermacy in India. This turbulent period in which the Military Adventurers flourished ended almost in 1803 during that of the Marquis Wellesley. *(Ed.)*

A. EUROPEAN SOLDIERS OF FORTUNE[1]

This is a page from military history of India. The period the last 50 years or so of the 18th century. The English, vying with the French, had pulled out their sword to win an empire in India. A company of peaceful traders had converted itself into a militant group of empire builders; they had come to trade but stayed to rule. The French power had collapsed. From Arcot to Plassey and Buxer was a wide sweep and the English victories at Seringapatam, Assay and Laswari had eliminated all opposition. Delhi was captured by the English in 1803. Shah Alam II, the old and decrepit Moghul emperor, lived as a prisoner of the British till he died.

Soldiers on Hire

There was a confused polity in the country. There was no Indian nation as such; India was a geographical entity broken up into a number of warring States. As those rulers and potentates, kings and princes succumbed to the British and lost their thrones and crowns, their armies got

scattered and their soldiers wandered about rudderless. A good many of them sought service with the East India Company. They had to keep their body and soul together. Major R.L. Ambrose, himself an English[2] adventurer and an officer in Jaswant Rao Holkar's service wrote as thus:[3]

"It is well known, to those conversant with the affairs of the East, that there are in that country many hundreds of thousands, soldiers by profession, who wander continually from service to service, from prince to prince, as the pressure of the moment requires their assistance and promises them employ. Gain is their go, and it is so perfectly immaterial to them whom they serve, while they are paid, and the *minutiae* of their caste attended to, that an utter stranger, with efficient funds, might at any time raise an army in Hindustan, who would follow him and fight his battles as long as his resources were sufficient for the current expenses of the day. Born soldiers, without any other profession than that of arms, these men eagerly flock to the standard of any adventurer, however desperate his prospects, if he only possesses the *summum bonum* of their happiness. In the minds of these people no such sentiment as *amor patriae* is to be found, above affection for a few clods of earth or stumps of trees, merely from their having been imprinted on their recollection from the sportive period of infancy. The Indian is, in this point, a citizen of the world. It not unfrequently happens that fathers, sons, and brothers embrace different service, and meet in battle array on the plain against each other, perhaps unwittingly to fall by each other's hands."

Self-Ranked 'Generals'

In this state of political chaos, social anarchy and economic distress came in number of European adventurers seeking fortune with the sword. They were French, English, Scottish, Irish, German, Dutch and Portuguese desperadoes, who fought for the highest bidder. They raised private armies, sought the service of Scindia, Bhoasle, Holkar, and the Nawab of Oudh, trained their troops, took the battlefields for their masters and, above all, amassed wealth. They were infantry and cavalry soldiers as also artillery men adept in the use of guns and gun powder. They lived by their guts, swords and wits. They assumed ranks of "Colonels" and "Generals" and changed their names as it suited their convenience.

Swaggering Adventurers

A number of them were deserters from the English, French and Portuguese sea and land forces. Some of them had left for reasons of indebtedness. Most of them were of humble origin and came from the lower strata of the society. But there were some drawn from European royal families, English ducal houses and the nobility and aristocracy which had fallen on evil days. There were about 4,000 to 5,000 such swaggering adventurers who held sway till 1803 when their tribe melted away and the supremacy of British arms left no room for them.

Colourful and Dubious Characters

Generals de Boigne and Perron were two well known and highly respected French officers who primed the Maratha soldiery and lived by their large estates almost as big as some of the smaller countries in Europe. Walter Reinhard, Sombre and George Thomas were colourful personalities "hard-living and hard-fighting swash bucklers of discreditable antecedents and of alcoholic if not piratical propensities." To mention a few other names: Colonel John Holmes was an English trumpeter who had deserted from the Bengal Horse Artillery; Masson was an elusive traveller and archaeologist; Colonel Robert Sutherland, known as "Sutlej Sahib" was an officer in the English Highland regiment who had been cashiered. Russel Cavalry in the Nizam's service was commanded by a half-pay Lieutenant J.A. Moore of the British Royal Navy. There was also one Mr. Browning known as "Brandy Sahib."

It is interesting that about the same time there was a lot of dubious element serving in the Presidential armies of the East India Company too. In fact, quite a number of English soldiers who came to India, especially in the early days, did no credit to the empire builders. The first batch of British Royal troops which arrived in India in August 1748 had Irish and Scottish troops who were "rebels, deserters, and highwaymen pardoned on condition of enlistment" with the Army and service in India.

It was discussed in the British House of Commons in 1753 that one officer of the East India Company had been a trumpeter at a raree-show in England. Another had been a barber, while the Bombay President's steward became a Lieutenant in the Grenadier Company while he continued to work in the President's household. An illiterate officer was appointed Captain and a literate Lieutenant was appointed to assist him ! All these officers and soldiers were lining their pockets through petty trade in rice and fish.[4]

Lived like Nawabs

These men were of easy virtue. Living in isolation, miles away from their homes, they married Indian women or kept them as their mistresses.[5] They were touched by oriental splendour. Dressing like Nawabs with swords and scimitars, they took to the "Hookah",[6] Palki and the bottle. Arrack—a local—was popular and there was a common joke that only those "who were arrack-proof within and sun-proof without" survived in India! They had large size Zenanas or harems within the four walls of their capacious bungalows.

The Indian consort of the notorious soldier-adventurer Sombre, popularly known as Begum Simroo, held on to her husband's kingdom as also his army after his death. On the death of Begum Simroo the army of Sombre was disbanded by the British. James Skinner, the famous and valiant founder of the Skinner's Horse, known as "Sikandar Sahib" was the son of a Scott and a Rajputani. Hyder Young Hearsey was another soldier of mixed parentage.

Their Memorials

Little remains to remind us of these men and their times. There are a few memorials, covered with the dust of time, dotted all over the country—at Agra, Delhi, Gwalior, Poona, Hyderabad, Sardhana, Ferozepore and Lucknow—which bring back some memories. The St. James Church in Delhi keeps the memory of the great Sikandar Sahib alive. The old Roman Catholic Cathedral in Agra bears a tablet proclaiming that it was enlarged by Dominus Walter Reinhard—probably Sombre in one of his assumed names.

The Church of the conception at Poona and an Indo-Portuguese burial ground nearby stand on the land which was granted by the Peshwa to one of the officers in his employ, Major Francisco Caetano Pinto. The land was given for Major Pinto's Goan artillerymen and musicians who wanted to build a chapel; and original chapel was demolished many years ago. Gwalior has two private chapels and in the fortress of Narwar is another ruined chapel.

In all these lie the graves of many free-lance soldiers and European and American gunners who served the Morathas and the Moghuls. The Roman Catholic at Bhopal and the Cathedral at Patna were also built by military adventurers. The Church at Sardhana was designed for Begum Simroo by one of her Italian officers.

Faltunganj market in Bareilly keeps green the memory of Captain Fanthome, a French cavalary officer; the Juliana Sarai, south of Delhi, recalls the name of a lady who was a physician at the Moghul Court. The La Martiniere Schools at Calcutta and Lucknow bear splendid witness to the munificence of Maj. Gen. Claud Martin who served both the East India Company and the Nawab of Oudh.

NON-ENGLISH ADVENTURERS

Bourguien, Louis, Colonel (spelt also Bourguienne, Bourquoin, Bourquin, and Bourkin).

This individual, who was known amongst the Natives as *Lovee Saluib,* was a Frenchman, whose real name was Louis Bernard. He came to India in Admiral Sufrein's fleet, landing at Pondicherry, where he remained some time. He then made his way to Calcutta, and enlisted in a mercenary regiment of foreigners in the Company's service, known as Captain Doxat's Chasseurs. Upon the reduction of that force Bourguien turned his attention to civil pursuits, and for some time exercised the calling of a cook at Calcutta, his craft in culinary matters being superior to his skill in military ones. Later on he started business as a manufacturer of fire-works, and in this capacity accompanied a gentleman named Gairard, the proprietor of the Vauxhall Gardens at Calcutta, to Lucknow. He then returned to the military profession, and obtained an appointment in the Begum Somru's force, from which he entered that of De Goigne about the year 1794, when he found rated as a Lieutenant on a pay of Rs. 200 a month. No mention

of his name appears again until August, 1800, when he joined the Rajah of Jaipur, with one of the Perron's battalions, to assist against Lakwa Dada. Soon after this he was detached to capture Ajmir, but the fort proved too strong to be taken, and he was defeated in December and obliged to fall back. He then invested the place, and on the 7th of May, 1801, secured its surrender by bribery. But meanwhile General Perron had become greatly dissatisfied with his conduct of the siege, and sent Captain Symes to supersede him. Bourguien was so enraged at this that he offered his services to the Rajah of Jaipur, but Partab Singh declined to accept them for fear of disobliging General Perron, by whom he had recently been reduced to a state of abject submission. So Bourguien swallowed his mortification, and retained his appointment in Sindhia's army. He seems to have been undeservedly fortunate, for in a few weeks he was promoted to the command, of the Third Brigade, and in August entrusted with the conduct of the war against George Thomas. Although at the head of the fine battalions of infantry and a large body of Hindustani horse, Bourguien was outwitted and outmanoevred by Thomas, and finally defeated at the battle of Georgegarh. This led to his supersession for incapacity for the second time within the year, but after Pedron had retrieved affairs Bourguien was once again entrusted with the command of operations, and eventually forced Thomas to surrender at Hansi. He was then detached with his brigade to collect tribute in the Sutlej states, and in November, 1802, we find him at Jind negotiating matters of considerable importance with Rajah Bagh Singh. He remained in the Sikh country till the middle of 1803, his last exploits being the capture of Rohtak, and the levying of a tribute of Rs. 15,000 from the Karnal district. In June of this year, when war with the English was imminent, Perron ordered Bourguien to encamp at Panipat, and shortly afterwards to march down and occupy Delhi. In August hostilities broke out, and simultaneously Ambaji Inglia was appointed to supersede Perron. Bourguien, although a "bosom friend" of the General—Skinner states they were relatives—was the first to revolt against him, and the chief instrument in effecting his downfall. The events leading up to the battle of Delhi, and Bourguien's brief tenure of power, have been fully recorded. He surrendered to General Lake shortly after the British victory, and was deported to Calcutta, from whence, in course of time, he found his way to Hamburg, and so to France. He retired with "an immense fortune," and there his history ends.

Filoze Michael, Colonel

Michael Filoze was a low-bred Neopolitan of shady character, yet not without a certain address and cunning that enabled him to advance his interests. In his native country he had followed the calling of a muleteer, before he enlisted in the French army and came out to Madras from whence, after several vicissitudes, he made his way to Delhi, enlisted in the Rana of Gohad's service, in the Corps commanded by Madoc. De la Fontaine, a Frenchman, was a fellow officer, and it was evidently after him that

Michael named his son Baptiste, who was born at Gohad in 1773. In 1782, when the Rana was defeated by Sindhia and his battalion broken up, Michael Filoze lost his employment, and it has been stated that during the next eight years he served one of the Native states of Southern India. But if so, he evidently returned to Upper India, for about the year 1790 he found means to recommend himself to De Boigne, who appointed him to the command of a battalion in his First Brigade. It was some time before he rose to any substantial tank, for in May 1794, he was only rated at a pay of Rs. 300 per month. In the previous year he had been selected to accompany Madhoji Sindhia to the Deccan, and later on he successfully intrigued to get his battalion made into a separate command, independent of De Boigne's. It formed the necleus of the corps he raised, which eventually numbered II battalions. In 1797 Michael Filoze found it prudent to fly from Poonah, under the following circumstances. Nana Farnavis, the Peshwa's prime minister, and the most able statesman in Maratha history, was induced to return a formal visit of ceremony paid him a few days previously by Daulat Rao Sindhia, of whom he was suspicious and distrustful. But Michael Filoze pledged his word of honour for the safety of the old minister, and so overcame his scruples notwithstanding which the Neapolitan seized Nana and made him over a prisoner to Sindhia. This perfidious act excited the just indignation of all the European officers in the service of Native states, whose general character was impugned by it, and who, in Grant Duff's words, "though mere soldiers of fortune, were as distinguished for good faith as daring enterprise." The Marathas themselves excused Michael's treachery, saying that he was ignorant of what was intended, and ascribing it to sudden coercion by Ghatkay Rao. It should further be mentioned that in a letter to a current newspaper Michael Filoze strenuously denied his guilt. The Nana was too powerful a personage to be a prisoner long; for a time he was confined in the fort of Ahmednagar, but in the following year he obtained his liberty by a payment of ten lakhs of rupees. Directly Filoze heard he was treating for his liberty, and likely to obtain it, he decamped to Bombay, leaving the command of his eleven battalions to his sons. Drugeon mentions that he set out for Europe, "but died" whether on the voyage or after his arrival there is not specified.

Hessing, George, Colonel

George Hessing was a half-caste Dutchman, being a son of Colonel John Hessing by a "Native woman." But though Grant Duff describes the mother in these terms, there is little doubt but that she was a sister of Major Derridon and Madam Perron, for Skinner mentions that George Hessing was the General's nephew. Hessing was known amongst the Natives as Jorus Sahib, a corruption of his Christian name, which cannot bear comparison with the sonorous Jowruj applied to Thomas. The first mention of George Hessing is in 1798, when, in conjunction with Fidele Filoze, he expertly effected the capture of Ghatkay Rao. In 1800, on the retirement of his father, he succeeded to the command of a brigade of four battalions,

which he quickly increased to eight. The next year he accompanied Sindhia to Malwa, and on reaching the Narbada was sent forward to protect Ujjain against a threatened attack by Holkar. Although it was in the rainy season, and the country flooded with water, Hessing made an astonishingly rapid march, and arrived at the capital in June. Amir Khan soon attacked him, and kept him in play till Holkar defeated Macintyre and attempted to repeat the success against Browning; but being repulsed by the latter officers, he joined Amir Khan, and made a concerted assault on Hessing's entrenchments outside the walls of Ujjain. Hessing behaved in a most coward manner, flying at an early period of action, and leaving his troops to be annihilated, and his eleven European officers killed or wounded and taken prisoners. Just previous to the battle of Ujjain he had despatched four of his battalions to his father at Agra, whither he now made his way. He was soon coiled upon to march with these to assist in the war against George Thomas, and it was through his lines that Jowruj Jung cut his way when he escaped to Hansi. After this Hessing returned to Agra. Smith states that his four battalions were taken over by Perron in 1830, and made the foundation of the Fifth Brigade. Hessing being promoted to the command of the Second, in succession to Robert Sutherland; but he did not hold the appointment long, for his father died in July, and he was transferred to the commandantship of Agra. He was here when General Lake captured the fort, but not in command, for lie had been previously deposed and confined by his mutinous troops. At the last moment he was put forward to negotiate terms for the garrison. Skinner asserts that he was "too rich a man to defend the fort well, and soon found means to dissatisfy the garrison," but this opinion seems ill-founded. Hessing's fortune was estimated at five lakhs of rupees, besides money in the Company's funds. After his surrender he retired to Chinsura for some time, and eventually removed to Calcutta, where he died on the 6th of January, 1826, aged fourty-four years.

Legge, Thomas

"Tom Legge" was a native of Danagadee, in the north of Ireland, his father being a shipowner in a small way, and engaged in the emigrant-carrying trade to America. Legge was very wild in his youth, and, rejecting all his father's offers to establish him in a respectable calling, ran away from home and shipped on board the Swallow, sloop of war, bound for Madras arrived in India. His vagrant principle asserted itself, and, deserting his ship, he tramped his way to Haiderabad, in Sind, supporting himself by begging. This must have been about the year 1775. He stayed in the lower Indus districts for five or six years, and then proceeded to Multan, and from thence through the desert to Jaipur. After a short residence in Rajputana he entered the service of the Jat Rana of Gohad, being appointed to a post in Sangster's Corps. From this officer Legge learnt the art of casting cannon and whatever belonged to their management, and with the possession of this knowledge, and the revival of the errant principle within

him, he resumed his travels. Bidding farewell to Sangster, he steered his course to Kabul, where his talents gained him a situation on a pay of three rupees a day. Here he remained some years, receiving very kind treatment, and rendering himself so useful that, when he desired to leave, he was obliged to escape by stealth. Journeying north, he crossed the Hindu Kush and entered Badakshan, and was so well received that he stayed there for a considerable time and contracted a left-handed marriage. On quitting this country he went to Bokhara, where he exercised his art for some time, and there, as elsewhere, his only difficulty was to get away. He afterwards visited *Herat* and *Kandhar*, and in this mode of life spent twenty years, serving almost every power between the Indus and the Caspian. At length, tired of this nomad existence, he set out for Jaipur, where he determined to settle down for the rest of his days. Here he married a daughter of Dr. de Silva, a grandson of the celebrated Favier de Silva, whom the King of Portugal sent out to assist the astronomical studies of Jai Singh, the prince who founded Jaipur. This alliance obtained for Legge the command of a Najib battalion in the Jaipur army, but his first service with it proved his last, for in storming the stronghold of a refractory chief he received two wounds. It was shortly after this that he came to Colonel Tod's camp to obtain medical assistance. "I was yoked down with a pike, and shot through my thigh, and I've come to your honour's camp to get cured, for they can make no hand at it at Jaipur," was his explanation of his appearance, and the speech was intermingled with forcible and patriotic expressions of joy at seeing the British flag waving in front of the Colonel's tent. His stay here extended for some months, during which Colonel Tod heard all the incidents of his adventurous life, and records the pleasure he felt "in listening to the variegated history of this singular being, who had retained, amidst these strange vicissitudes, an artlessness of manner and goodness of heart which were displayed in many notable instances during his abode of some months in our camp." Legge was in many ways an eccentric and cosmopolitan character. He practised the healing art, alchemy, and divination.

Tom's wound did not heal, and he felt himself slowly wasting away. "I do not fear death, your honour," he said to Colonel Tod, "and could I get my life written and my boy sent to Calcutta I should die contented." At length he expressed a desire to return to Jaipur, and everything necessary was provided him; but he had not long quitted the camp before despair overtook him, and, throwing away his clothes, he took up his post in a deserted tomb and proclaimed himself a Fakir. In this condition he was discovered by the wife of Sindhia's General Jean Baptiste Filoze. She acted the good Samaritan towards him, but it was too late, and poor Tom Legge died shortly afterwards in the year 1808. Alas the pity of it that his book was never written. Literature might have been the richer by another work like "Tom Coryat's Crudities."

Lestineau, Moniseur (also written Lesteneau)

Lestineau was a French-man and commanded a regular corps in the service of Ranjit Singh, the Rajah of the Jats, about the year 1788. After the defeat of Lalsot, Madhoji Sindhia entered into an alliance with Ranjit Singh, and thus it happened that Monsieur Lestineau's corps acted with the Marathas in the battles of Chaksana and Agra. In the former his troops were stationed on the right wing, and shared with De Boigne's two battalions the barren honours of the day, and after making a staunch and gallant resistance, were forced to retire owing to the desertion of the Maratha cavalry. Lestineau and his corps accompanied the Marathas to Delhi after the victory of Agra, and he was detached to assist in the pursuit of Ghulam Kadir, who had fled to Meerut. When Ghulam was captured, his saddle-bags, stuffed with the jewels which the miscreant had looted from the Emperor's palace fell into Lestineau's hands, who with these, and the pay of his battalion, absconded shortly after his return to the capital. He reached British territory in safety, and eventually found his way to Europe, with his ill-gotten wealth.

Madoc, Colonel (spelt also Medoc)

Next to Sombre's, Madoc's was the oldest "party" in Hindustan. Madoc was an illiterate and ignorant Frenchman, who had formerly been a private in the French army in Southern India, from which he deserted in 1774, and found his way to Delhi, where he entered the service of Najaf Khan, for whom he raised a corps of five battalions of infantry, 500 cavalry, and 20 guns. He gathered around him several very respectable and competent officers, amongst whom were the Count de Moidavre and the Chevaliers Dudrenec and Cressy. Colonel Malleson states that Madoc commenced his career as early as 1757, and that he was one of Sombre's officers, and served at the battle of Buxar. He was a gallant man, but deficient in military knowledge, and with more enterprise and bravery than prudence and science, his battalions generally failed in their attacks from the rash impetuosity of their commander. After leaving Najaf Khan's service, Madoc entered that of the Rana of Gohad in 1776, and a little later experienced a disastrous defeat in the defiles of Biana in the Mewatti district, where his force was attacked by a large band of Rohillas, during a heavy storm of rain, and annihilated, twelve of his European officers being killed, and all his guns and baggage captured, Madoc escaped by flight, and found refuge at Fatehpur, from whence he repaired to Agra, and set to work to cast new guns and raise and discipline another corps. When it was ready for service, by a species of transaction not uncommon in those days, he sold it to the Rana of Gohad in 1782, and its command devolved on Major Sangster. Madoc, having realised a small fortune, retired to Europe, where he was not long afterwards killed in a duel.

Martine, Claude, General (also written Claud Martin)

Claude Martine was a Frenchman. He was born in the year 1732 at

Lyons, where his father carried on the business of a silk manufacturer. It was intended that he should follow the same calling, but his adventurous spirit would not submit to so tame a career, and running away from home at an early age, he enlisted in the French army. He soon distinguished himself by his activity and energy, and was advanced from an infantry to a cavalry regiment. In 1757 the Count de Lally was appointed to the government of Pondicherry and requiring volunteers for his bodyguard, Martine made application to be enrolled, and was accepted. Accompanying Lally to India, he arrived there in 1758, but had not been long in the country before he began to experience trouble. Lally's ideas of discipline were inordinately severe, and his behaviour and manners towards his subordinates harsh and tyrannical. His treatment might have been necessary, for a large portion of his bodyguard had been recruited from military criminals and deserters under sentence, who were drafted into it a punishment. But Lally's sternness had the effect of increasing rather than diminishing the insubordination, and when, a little later, Coote advanced and laid siege to Pondicherry, the whole of the Governor's bodyguard deserted *en masse* to the English, by whom they were well received. On the return of the British troops to Madras, Martine volunteered to raise a corps of French chasseurs from amongst the prisoners of war, for service under the Company's flag. His proposal was entertained, and he received a commission as ensign. Shortly afterwards he was ordered to Bengal with his corps, but, during the voyage, the ship in which he sailed sprang a leak, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that he saved his men in the boats, and eventually landed them safely in Calcutta. In due course he was promoted to the rank of captain, but in 1764 his men mutinied, notwithstanding his exertions to keep them faithful, and the corps was broken up. Martine's conduct on this occasion was greatly commended by the authorities, and being an able draughtsman, he was rewarded by an appointment in the north-eastern districts of Bengal, where he was sent to survey the country. His work was so satisfactory that, on its completion, a similar appointment was found for him in the province of Oudh.

This was the turning point in his career, which had hitherto been more eventful than profitable. Having fixed his headquarters at Lucknow, he employed his leisure in exercising his ingenuity in several branches of mechanics, and, amongst other things, manufactured "the first balloons that ever floated in the air of Asia." This brought him under the notice of the Nawab, who conceived so high an opinion of his abilities, and especially his skill in gunnery, that he solicited permission from the Bengal Government for Martine's services to be transferred to him, and this being granted, the adventurer was appointed superintendent of the Nawab's park of artillery and arsenal.

Martine did not neglect the opportunities thus opened out to him, and speedily ingratiated himself with his new master, whose confidential adviser he became. In the many political changes that took place in Oudh during the next twenty years the Frenchman always contrived to remain on

the right side, making himself indispensable in negotiations between the Nawab and Company. At the same time he was careful not to push himself forward into public notice, preferring to remain the power behind the throne; and although he seldom appeared at Darbar, he had more real influence than the Nawab's ministers in shaping the course of events.

Martine's salary was largely increased, and he enjoyed, in addition, extensive sources of emolument, such as were always open to men in positions of confidence in the Native courts. He became the recognised channel for petitions from all who desired any favour from the Government, and in this capacity enormous bribes and presents of great value found their way into his hands. He educated the Nawab into an appreciation of the products of Europe, and then acted as his agent in procuring them. He established extensive credits with the Native bankers, and so obtained a large share in the profitable public loans made to his master. Finally, his position at Court was esteemed so secure that, in a country distracted by war and internal troubles, he soon became a sort of "safe deposit" for the valuables of the Nawab's subjects, charging a commission of 12 percent, for the custody of articles committed to his care. By these and similar methods lie acquired an immense fortune during his long residence at Lucknow.

Martine's pleasure in life seems to have been limited to the mere accumulation of riches, for he derived none from spending them. The other object of his ambition or vanity seems to have been the attainment of military rank, a fact the truth of which is emphasised by the epitaph he wrote for his own tomb. In 1790, at the commencement of the first war with Tipu Sultan, he presented the Company with a number of fine horses to mount a troop of cavalry, and in return was gazetted to the rank of colonel, thus achieving the object for which the gift was made. Six years later, when the Company's officers received brevet rank from the King, Martine's name was included in the Gazette, and to his infinite satisfaction he became a major general.

Amongst the most remarkable points connected with Martine was his house at Lucknow, which was a castellated edifice built on the banks of the River Gumti, and designed for defence if necessary. It was constructed strictly on hygienic principles, for it contained series of rooms—or flats, as we should call them in these modern days—adapted to the varying temperature of the different seasons of the year. Thus in the hot seasons he resided in a subterranean suite of chambers, which were cool and sheltered from the fierce glare and heat outside. When the rainy season came on, he ascended to an upper story high above the ground level and its malaria. In the cold weather he changed quarters again, and descended to the ground-floor. The house was fitted with many curious mechanical contrivances for comfort; the ceilings of the different apartments were formed of elliptic arches, ornamented most elaborately, whilst the exterior decorations were equally fanciful and florid. The furniture was on a par with the building, and the walls of the rooms were covered with glasses, prints, and pictures, estimated at many thousand pounds in value. Not the

least curious feature in this building—which was called *Constantia*, from the motto *Lahore et Constantia* carved on its front—which was a room containing a vault designed for Martine's place of sculpture. He built this because the Nawab refused to pay him the price he asked for the edifice; whereupon, in a fit of pique, he declared that his tomb should be handsomer than any palace in the kingdom. His subsequent interment there in had the effect of desecrating the place in the eyes of the Muhammadans, for no followers of the Prophet can inhabit a tomb.

For the last fifteen years of his life Martine suffered greatly from stone. He cured himself once by a successful though crude and painful course of treatment; but a recurrence of the disease terminated his life in the year 1800, at the age of sixty-two.

On the first of January of the same year he executed an extra-ordinary will, which he drew up himself.

The thirtieth clause in his will was perhaps the most remarkable of all. It ran as follows: "When I am dead, I request that my body may be salted, put in spirits, or embalmed, and afterwards deposited in a leaden coffin made of some sheet lead in my godown, which is to be put in another of sissoo wood, and then deposited in the cave in the small round room north-east in Constantia, with two feet of masonry raised above it, which is, to bear the following inscription

"Major-General Claude Martine,
Born at Lyons, January, 1738.
Arrived in India as a common soldier, and died (at
Lucknow, the 13th of September, 1800) a
major-general;
and he is buried in this tomb.
Pray for his soul."
His wishes were faithfully fulfilled.

Pauly, Colonel (Paoli)

Colonel Pauly was a German, and selected by the Begum Somru to command her husband's party after Sombre's death in 1778. He engaged too much in Oriental politics and espoused the cause of Prince Jiwan Bakht, who, in 1782, desired to rid Shah Alam of some of his unruly nobles, and undertook to secure the arrest of a powerful minister named Mirza Shafi Khan; whereupon the latter fled, and the Emperor appointed Jiwan Bakht Amir-ul-Umra, or Chief of the Nobles. But Mirza Shafi entered into an alliance with several other rebel nobles, and, collecting a large army, marched against Delhi, sending forward a vakil to Shah Alam, demanding his restoration to power. The Emperor was intimidated, and summoned a council, at which Jiwan Bakht proposed to sally forth and fight the rebels, a line of action which Pauly strongly supported, undertaking to defeat Mirza Shafi's following with his battalions of regulars. But the Emperor was too frightened to act boldly, and ordered Pauly to enter into an

amicable arrangement. The German obeyed, and a general reconciliation of all parties was outwardly agreed to, but scarcely had Pauly entered the rebels camp to arrange for carrying the agreement into effect, than a party of horse, who had been placed in ambuscade, fell upon him, and dispersing his escort, "by a bloody process cut off the head of Mr. Pauly."

Piron, Colonel (often misspelt Perron)

Colonel Piron, who is constantly confounded in historical books with General Perron, was a native of Alsace. lie was in service of Nizam of Haidarabad, and second in command to the famous adventurer Raymond, who raised a brigade of seventeen battalions for that ruler. Piron was an outrageous Jacobin, and in close touch with the French Republica faction in Mysore. On Raymond's death, in March, 1798, he succeeded to the command of the 14,000 men comprising the force, which was supported by a *Jaidad* yielding eighteen lakhs of rupees annually, and included a strong train of artillery and a complete military equipment. One of his first acts was to send to Perron, Sindhia's general, a silver tree and Cap of Liberty as a souvenir. His corps always hoisted the French national flag, and the lapels and epaulettes of the Sepoys' uniforms were embroidered with the words *Liberte et Constitution*. Piron and all his officers entertained ambitious designs, and considered themselves as forwarding the interests of France. Their undisguised hostility to the English and pronounced principles soon compelled Lord Wellesley to take action them, and he determined to effect the disbandment of the force. Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, assisted by John Malcolm, was told off for the task, and effected it with complete success on the 22nd of October, 1798, the operation being facilitated by the fact of the troops being in a state of open mutiny, and Piron and his officers in danger. The following account of the dispersal of this "French Army" (as Lord Wellesley calls it) is extracted from Kaye's "Life of Malcolm."

"Having reported to Colonel Roberts the favourable aspect of affairs, Malcolm drew up his detachment on the heights facing the French lines. There he was speedily joined by the European officers of the French corps, elate with joy at their escape from the hands of their infuriate soldiery, and actually, in the conjuncture that had arisen, regarding the English as friends and deliverers. The rest was soon accomplished. The Sepoys left their guns, laid down their arms, and in the presence of the two lines of British troops, moved off in a deep column to a flag planted on the right of the ground. Not a shot was fired, not a drop of blood was shed. Eleven or twelve thousand men were dispersed in a few hours; and before sunset the whole cantonment, with all their storehouses, arsenals, gun foundries, and power mills, were completely in our possession. The celebrated French corps of Hyderabad had passed into tradition."

Piron and his compatriots confessed themselves very grateful, not only for their rescue from a grave peril, but for the humanity with which they were subsequently treated. It is difficult to estimate the exact qualities of this adventurer. Major Kirkpatrick, the Resident at Haiderabad, writing

1797, describes him as a younger than Raymond, and far more enterprising and active, and particularly fond of the military profession. But Sir John Malcolmn then Kirkpatrick's assistant, who had equally good opportunities of forming an opinion, records that "Piron is a rough, violent democrat, a man with more hostile dispositions to us than his predecessor Raymond, but less dangerous, being a stranger to that temper and those conciliatory manners by which the latter won his way to greatness. Piron has no ability, and his authority is far from being generally acknowledged." Events proved Piron was totally unfitted to step into the post made vacant by Raymond's death. He died at Chandernagore in 1805.

Plumet, Major

Major Plumef was "a Frenchman and a gentleman—two qualities which were seldom united in the Mahratta Empire." Such is Smith's dictum. Plumet raised a party for Jaswant Rao Holkar in 1798, and had a principal share in securing the victory of Ujjain, although a short time previously he had sustained a reverse when he attacked Major Browning's position on the Narbada. According to one historian, he was wounded and taken prisoner in the latter affairs, and not present at Ujjain; but another, with equal insistence, accords to him the honour of that day. He soon found Holkar "too cruel, cunning, capricious, and ungrateful," and left his service. Major Ambrose states that Plumet deserted his chief on the eve of the battle of Indore, and so conduced to the defeat which Jaswant Rao sustained, that his behaviour caused Holkar to brand all French-men "Duggerbaz" or Faithless. Major Plumet, after his brief career in the Deccan, retired to the Isle of France.

Raymond, Francois De, General

Francois de Raymond (whose name Colonel Malleson gives as Michael Jaochim Marie Raymond) was born at Serignac, in Gascony, in 1755. He came out to India early in life and in 1775, obtained employment as sub-lieutenant in a battalion commanded by the Chevalier de Lasse, in the service of Haider Ali of Mysore. His conduct brought him to the notice of the military authorities, and he received a commission as captain in the French army in 1783, and was appointed aide-de-camp to the famous Bussy. Three years later, on Bussy's death, Raymond entered the service of the Nizam Ali Khan of Haidarabad, for whom he raised a small corps of 300 men, hiring the weapons with which they were armed from a French merchant on the coast, at the rate of eight annas per mensem for each musket. When the confederate war against Tipu Sultan broke out, and the English, Marathas, and the Nizam were leagued against the ruler of Mysore, Raymond's command was raised to 700 men, and he distinguished himself so much in the campaign that he grew into great favour with Ali Khan, and his force was augmented to 5,000 men, his own pay being increased to Rs. 5,000 a month. At the battle of Kardla in 1795 Raymond's battalions numbered 10,840 men with 28 guns and 46 tumbrills. The

regularity with which this force was paid enabled him to fill its ranks with deserters from the Company's services, to whom he held out tempting inducements. He is also said to have encouraged French prisoners of war on parole to escape and take service under his flag. The battle of Kardla was the only occasion except the Mysore war in which, during a service of seventeen years, Raymond met a foreign foe. He was forced to retire from the field, but was not defeated, for the retreat was solely due to the Nizam's pusillinamity, and ordered at a moment when Raymond's battalions were stoutly and, peradventure, successfully holding their own. He was next employed in reducing to submission the Nizam's rebellious son and heir, Ali Jah. In this he met with stout resistance, and was obliged to send for reinforcements to one of his subordinates named Baptiste, on being joined by whom he quickly brought the expedition to a conclusion, and secured the person of Ali Jah, who committed suicide, leaving Sikandar Jab heir to the throne. This Prince was accustomed to swear "by the head of Raymond," whom he regarded as the first of men. After the battle of Kardla Raymond tried hard to obtain the Karpa district, which would have enabled him to co-operate with any French force making a descent on the Coromandal coast, with or without the concurrence of the Nizam. He already possessed an immence military territorial assignment which yielded fifty-two lakhs of rupees a year, in addition to an estate or Jagir of his own, the income of which as Rs. 50,000. His salary was princely, and in the style of his domestic life he collected round him every luxury and elegance within the reach of a European in India. Previous to his death he further increased his force, which he considered "A French body of troops, employed and subsidized by the Nizam," to over 14,000 men, with a complete train of artillery, chiefly brass ordnance worked by a well-trained corps of Europeans, and drawn by 5,000 bullocks. His cavalry numbered 600. He possessed, in his own right, all the guns and military equipage belonging to the force. The physique of his soldiers was not to be compared with that of the stalwart and warlike warriors whom De Boigne and Perron enlisted from the fine recruiting grounds of Upper India, but the men were well disciplined, and their parade appearance was good, whilst the service itself was extremely popular with the natives.

Raymond was an ambitious and intriguing man, and one who understood the art of gaining his ends by engaging manners and conciliatory demeanour. After the battle of Kardla he began to assume an almost kingly state, for his power made him the arbitrator of Haidarabad. All his regimental returns were headed *Corps de Francois de Raymond*, he was received in his own cantonments with a royal salute. He stood in a position which would have enabled him, in the event of the Nizam's death, to elevate whom he pleased to the throne, and the overpowering influence which he acquired in the country was a serious menace to English interests. He was in close touch with the Government of France, and with Tipu Sultan of Mysore, and engaged in intrigues which had for their object an alliance against the British power in the East. He was also in

correspondence with some of the European officers in Sindhia's service, and an interesting letter exists which he addressed to Michael Filoze in January, 1798, on the subject of the treacherous seizure of Nana Farnavis, the Peshwa's Prime Minister. This is worth quoting as showing Raymond's honourable feelings, and because of a rather quaint adaptation it contains of the "Rights of Man" theory to eighteenth century Maratha politics—probably the first and last time the argument was used in such a connection. "A report prevails," writes Raymond, "that Nana Farnavis has been arrested contrary to the Rights of Man and to the clauses of the treaty for which you (Filoze) were security. I have no other interest in speaking of this but that which I take for every European whose reputation is dear to me." Then he goes on to request Filoze to obtain the Nana's restoration to liberty, and offers him a position and emoluments, "one-fourth more than you have with Scindia, and a *Jagir* of one lakh of rupees annually." The reason of this liberality is not obvious in tie letter, but it suggests many inferences. The epistle concludes: "I will be shortly on your frontiers, when we shall be able to keep up a correspondence. Burn this letter if it should not suit you, but write to me, Raymond".

Two months later Raymond died—according to some accounts by poison—at the early age of forty-three, and in the enjoyment of a degree of power and consequence never reached by any other military adventurer in Southern India.

Raymond's character has been variously estimated by different writers. Major Thorn describes him as "a man of extensive knowledge and equal activity." Kaye, in his "Life of Malcolm," views his character in the following light was a man of great ability and address . . . Had he lived the taking of his men (in 1798) would not have been an easy task . . . His troops were admirably disciplined and equipped. Their store-rooms well filled with arms and accoutrements, and clothing from Europe of excellent quality, and they could with ease have armed 12,000 more men in a few months. They cast excellent cannon, and made serviceable muskets in their different foundries, all of which, as well as their powder-mills, were under the direction of able and scientific Europeans." Malcolm's opinion has already been quoted in another page, namely, the Raymond was a man of "temper and conciliatory manners, by which he won his way to greatness." But it has been reserved for a contemporary historian to elevate Raymond to the position of a national hero. "This remarkable man," writes Colonel Malleson, is referred to by many English writers simply as "an adventurer named Raymond." That he was an adventurer is true, but he was one in the best sense of the term—chivalrous, daring trustworthy, and a splendid organiser; one of those adventurers who, like Garibaldi in our own days, leave their mark on the history of the country in which their deeds have been achieved. It may be said that no Indian Prince, not even Madhojee Scindia, or his successor, Dowlut Rao, ever had a finer or more efficient body of troops in his service (than those which Raymond raised). In the campaign against the Mahrattas in 1796 (?), it was Raymond and his

troops who repulsed the charge of the Mahratta cavalry and would have beaten them back altogether had not the Nizam and his troops abandoned the field. His reputation, great at the time, still survives, and it may be said with truth that the name of no European connected with India has survived seventy-six years after the demise of his body, to live with such eternal greeness in the hearts of the people of the country as does the name of Raymond in the memories and traditions of the great families of Hyderabad."

Colonel Beatson, in his History of the War with Tipu Sultan, has recorded the following opinion of the adventurer and his party—"The corps commanded by Colonel Raymond, which, during the last war in Mysore, amounted to no more than 1,500 men, was at that period so defective in point of discipline as to be rather an object of contempt than jealousy to the Government of India. It has gradually augmented its numbers and improved its discipline under the command of the late Monsieur Raymond, until it nearly reached the number of 14,000, and had obtained a degree of discipline superior in every respect to that of any Native infantry in India, excepting the Sepoys in the Company's service. The corps formed the largest and most efficient branch of the military establishment of His Highness the Nizam, and the French officers had acquired a considerable ascendancy in his dominions and councils, and had manifested on several occasions the symptoms of a disposition so arrogant, overbearing, and adventurous, as to excite alarm in the minds of His Highness and his ministers."

The last quotation must be from the despatches of the Marquis Wellesley. "Raymond's force was avowedly designed to cope with one De Boigne had created for the Mahrattas, and was organised on very similar lines. Each regiment was officered by two Europeans and there was a field train of fifty guns, and a small body of disciplined cavalry attached. The former was served by European gunners, many of them deserters from the Company's service. The parade appearance of the force was good, but the discipline was far from strict, and the slackness in this respect, combined with the regularity of pay, made the service a very popular one with the Natives, so that there was no difficulty in keeping the brigade up to its full strength. All the officers were Frenchmen, devoted to the doctrines of Jacobinism, and any amongst them who evinced Royalist tendencies were speedily dismissed. They fought under the French flag, and the Cap of Liberty was engraved on their buttons."

Saleur, Colonel (also spelt Suleur and Saleure)

Colonel Saleur was a Swiss (or French) officer, who succeeded to the command of the Begum Somru's corps, after the suicide of Le Vassoult in 1795. He had taken no part in the mutiny which led to his predecessor's death, but had, on the contrary, done everything in his power to prevent it. He was described as the "only respectable officer" who signed the Covenant entered into between the Begum and her rebellious soldiery.

Saleur, who had been in the force almost since its commencement, increased its strength to six battalions, with 40 guns and 200 cavalry, and in 1802 marched with five battalions to join Sindhia in the Deccan after the defeat of Ujjain. The men were in a state of mutiny the whole way, as many of the colonel's letters, written in French, to his mistress testified. When war broke out with the English, Saleur's troops were with Sindhia; but only one battalion took part in the battle of Assaye, the other four having been left behind to guard the Maratha camp and baggage, and owing to this circumstance they escaped destruction; and Colonel Saleur marched them safely to Burhanpur, and from thence back to Sardhana. Saleur was one of the witnesses of the Begum's marriage to Le Vassoult in 1793.

Sangster, Major

Major Sangster was a Scotchman, and a person of skill and ingenuity. In 1782 he obtained the command of the disciplined battalion of infantry which Madoc raised at Agra and sold to the Rana of Gohad. It consisted of 1000 well-trained Sepoys and a respectable train of artillery. Sangster was skilled in the art of casting cannon, and those he turned out could compare with the best the Company manufactured, whilst his muskets, produced at a cost of ten rupees each, were excellent in every respect. When De Boigne raised his first two battalions, he engaged Sangster (whose master had been forced to surrender to Sindhia), and appointed him to the charge of the arsenal at Agra. He appears to have led a very busy life, for in process of time other arsenals and magazines were established at Muthra, Delhi, Gwalior, Kalpi, and Gohad, of all of which he had the superintendence. The cannon balls were cast at Gwalior, where there were very fine iron mines, and gun-powder was manufactured at Agra, the saltpetre and sulphur being imported from Bikanir. No mention of Sangster can be found after De Boigne's resignation, though in 1801 a report appears in one of the Persian journals that "Lakwa Dada has employed Mr. Sangster's son to raise and discipline a battalion for him," which seems to indicate that the father was still in the country. Young Sangster was probably the cadet "Songster" who surrendered to General Wellesley after the battle of Assaye.

Sombre, or Somru

Sombre's real name was Walter Reinhard, and he was reputed to be the son of a butcher at Saltsburg, where he was born in 1720. At the age of thirty he came out to Pondicherry on board a French frigate, from which he deserted in order to enlist in the French army of Southern India. To hide his identity he assumed the name of Somers, as a *nom de guerre,* but his saturnine features and lowering mien soon caused its corruption into the *sobriquet* of Sombre, which in turn was twisted by Native pronunciation into Somru.

Sombre appear to have spent some years in the Carnatic and Southern India before he made his way to Bengal. Arrived here, he first of

all enlisted as a private soldier in a Swiss battalion in the employ of the Company, but eighteen days' experience of it sufficed, and he crossed the boundary into Chandernagore, and was appointed a sergeant in Mons. Law's force. But he was soon discontented with this, and once more abandoning his allegiance, proceeded to Upper Provinces, where he assumed the Native style of dress, and entered the service of Suraj-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Bengal, as a common trooper. This situation proved even less to his liking than his previous ones, and for the next two three years he appears to have led a restless and vagabond existence, till 1760, when he joined the rebel Faujdar of Purnea, by whom he was appointed to the command of a small force, with instructions to drill it in the Europeon method and bring it into discipline. In a few months the Faujdar suffered a reverse, which naturally determined Sombre to desert him. The adventurer now accepted a similar post under an Armenian name, Greogory, a member of a Calcutta family of repute, and the virtual minister of Kassim Ali Khan, who had succeeded Suraj-ud-Daula as Nawab of Bengal. Fortune favouring Sombre, he was promoted to the command of two battalions. In 1763 a rupture occurred between Kassim Ali and the Company, and the former, enraged at the ill success of his arms, treacherously attacked and captured a large body of English residents at Patna, and in a spirit of wanton and blood-thirsty revenge, ordered to be executed.

But the deed was a dark one for any of Kassim Ali's Native officers to undertake, and it was reserved for Sombre to ingratiate himself with his master by carrying out the order. The details of this sad event are thus given in the "Annual Register"."Somers invited above forty officers and other gentlemen, who were amongst these unfortunate prisoners, to sup with him on the day he had fixed for the execution, and when his guests were in full security, protected as they imagined by the laws of hospitality, as well as by the right of prisoners, he ordered the Indians under his command to fall upon them and cut their throats. Even these barbarious soldiers revolted at the orders of this savage European. They refused to obey, and desired that arms should be given to the English and that they would then engage them. Somers, fixed in his villainy, compelled them with blows and threats to the accomplishment of that odious service. The unfortunate victims, though thus suddenly attacked and wholly unarmed, made a long and brave defence, and with their plates and bottles even killed some of their assailants, but in the end they were all slaughtered. Proceeding then, with a file of Sepoys, to the prison where a number of the prisoners then remained, he directed the massacre, and with his own hands assisted in the inhuman slaughter of one hundred and forty-eight defenceless Europeans confined within its walls—an appalling act of atrocity that has stamped his name with infamy for ever." Justice requires it to be added that in one account of this tragedy, it is that Sombre's own life would have been forfeited had he refused to carry out Kassim Ali's commands.

British troops were soon marching up from Calcutta to avenge this

foul deed, and Kassim Ali Khan's army was defeated. But before this happened Sombre had been invited by the Nawab Wazir of Oudh to enter his service, and seizing the opportunity of Kassim Ali's distress, renounced his allegiance, extorted by violence the arrears of pay due to him, and then marched his two battalions to Lucknow, where he entered on his new appointment.

By the end of 1763 Sombre's force had increased to four battalions of infantry, one of cavalry, and a strong complement of artillery, and their commander enjoyed a high influence at Court, until war broke out with the English, and the Nawab Wazir was defeated at the battle of Buxar, and compelled to sue for peace, when one of the principal conditions insisted on by the English was the surrender of Sombre. The Nawab accepted the stipulation in theory, but pointed out that, in practice, Sombre was in command of an armed force, which made his apprehension impossible. He proposed, as an alternative to poison or assassinate the adventurer, but this suggestion was declined. Meanwhile Sombre, suspecting the tenor of the protracted negotiations, took advantage of the delay to surround and plunder the Nawab's Begums, who had been entrusted to him for protection, and also to rob his late master, Kassim Ali, who was at the time a refugee at the Oudh Court. Having thus acquired a large sum of money by these methods he secured the fidelity of his force by paying it up in full, and then marched to Rohilkhand. Here he entered the service of the Afghan chief, Hafiz Raimat Ali—the benevolent Rohilla ruler of Macaulay's essay on Warren Hastings. But fear of the English soon drove him to leave the neighbourhood, and marching to Dig, he enlisted under the banners of the Jat Rajah of Bharatpur. His connection with this potentate was of a very short duration, for in a few months he was serving the Rajah of Jaipur in a similar capacity, but the Rajput prince soon dismissed a mercenary whom he found too ambitious for his service, and Sombre finally tendered his sword to Najaf Khan, the Wazir of Shah Alam, the Emperor of Delhi, and a nobleman who seldom refused the proposals of any military adventurer, and who agreed to pay Sombre Rs. 65,000 a month for the services of his party.

Up to this period of his career Sombre had served twelve or fourteen different masters, but he remained in the service of the Court of Delhi until his death. This fixity of employment was probably due to his having been assigned a rich *jagir* or estate at Sardhana, a district some forty miles north of the capital, where he built and fortified his headquarters, and settled down.

From the time that he had quitted Chandernagore, Sombre had adopted the native dress, and with it the custom of keeping a harem. At Sardana he fell in love with a very beautiful, and eke remarkable woman, concerning whose parentage there are various accounts. One historian asserts that she was the daughter of a decayed Mughal nobleman, another that she was a Kashmiri dancing girl, and a third that she was by birth, a Syudani, or lineal descendent of the Prophet. Sombre was already married

to a woman of the Mussalman faith, who was still alive, but this did not prevent him from the ceremony with this girl who had taken his fancy. His connection with her laid the foundation of the fortunes of his family, for the Begum Somru, as she came to be called, was not less noble for her beauty than for her extraordinary cleverness and force of character.[7] She soon gain a great ascendancy over Sombre, and it was in a great measure owing to her influence that he abandoned his roving life and settled down permanently at Sardhana.

The Begum was very diminutive in person, but possessed a wonderful dignity of courage, and an uncommon resolution of manner. At Meerut she entertained from time to time several Governors-General and Commanders-in-Chief. During the closing years of her life an immense army of pensioners enjoyed her bounty, and she acquired the character of a kind-hearted and benevolent woman. She died in 1836, leaving behind her a fortune of a large portion of which was bequeated to charities,—and the rest to Mr. Dyce-Sombre, who married an English lady of title, and his two sisters, one of whom married an English officer, Captain Troup, and the other an Italian gentleman, Signor Sabroli.

B—AMERICAN ADVENTURERS IN INDIAN ARMIES[8]

Three Types

Before the World War II, American soldiers were unknown in India. It is, however, difficult to set bounds to individual enterprise, especially when it is American, and occasional instances of warriors claiming birth in that country who found their way to India have occurred. These may be divided into three classes. Firstly, Americans by birth and subsequent nationality, secondly, men born in America of families that adhered to the British connection, thus remaining British subjects; and, thirdly, those who claimed for their own purposes an American birth to which they almost certainly had no title.

After the American Revolutionary War, and the bitter memories left behind it, there was no room for American subjects in the British or East India Company's Armies. The end of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century was, however, the age of military adventures in the forces of Indian States. Three Americans are recorded among these, two of whom reached the rank of general, though in the case of one of them the rank may have been bestowed by the recipient himself. The two generals have reached the Valhalla of the *Dictionary of American National Biography*, and all three men had a highly adventurous career.

John Parker Boyd

The first of them was John Parker Boyd, born on 2nd December, 1764, at Newbury Port, Massachusetts. He obtained a commission in the American Army just after the termination of the war in 1783. His American biographer tells us that he arrived in India about 1789 in quest of fortune.

Probably he brought some capital with him, which enabled him to pay soldiers willing to serve under him. Otherwise it is difficult to account for his early progress. We first here of him early in 1795 commanding, with the rank of major, two disciplined battalions numbering about 1500 men in the army of Tukoji Holkar. At that date the forces of the Mahratta feudatories, particularly those of Scindia and Holkar, were collected near Poona, to meet the invasion of the Nizam's Army, the most formidable portion of which consisted of the battalions trained and commanded by Raymond and his French officers. Compton in his *Military Adventurers of Hindustan* states that Boyd's battalions formed part of the Nizam's Army and the American biographer has naturally followed him. Boyd's men, however, with four other battalions under a Frenchmen, Du Drenec, constituted the disciplined portion of Holkar's contingent in the Mahratta Army. In the battle that followed at Kharda on 12th March, 1795, Boyd's and Du Drenec's men were driven in by the first onset of Raymond, but rallied behind Perron's disciplined battalions of Scindia's contingent, and the British Agent, Uhtoff, informs us, were engaged at three different periods of the day. The decisive victory of the Mahrattas was due to the Nizam's lack of nerve rather than to any prowess of his opponents.

A peace was concluded: but the British authorities were rendered anxious by the only disciplined portion of Nizam's Army being under the leadership of French officers, France being then at war with Great Britain. The British Resident at Poona therefore suggested to the Nizam's Minister that he should entertain a body of troops led by persons of other nations. The result was that Boyd transferred himself, complete with his corps, to the service of the Nizam, who also entertained another body of men under an Irishman. Finglass, an ex-quartermaster of the 19th Light Dragoons. It should be reckoned to Boyd's credit that, when Raymond was believed to contemplate an attack upon the British Resident at Hyderabad, Boyd and Finglass signified their intention of supporting the Resident. Soon afterwards, however, Boyd had a disagreement with the Nizam's Minister which the Resident described as a mutual disgust. It was probably due to the remissness of the Minister in making payments.

In consequence Boyd transferred himself again, always with corps, to the Mahratta country. Here in the welter of intrigue over the succession to the dignity of Peshwa, the head of Mahratta Confederacy, there was ample room for an adventures with a useful corps at his command. There appears to have been some doubt as to Boyd's attitude, but he finally came down on the side of Nana Fadnavis, the astute Minister who was seeking to place Baji Rao on the Peshwa's throne. The movement was successful and Boyd was appointed on a salary of Rs. 3000, to the command of the Peshwa's regular infantry, the bulk of which was probably provided by his corps. Boyd, however, was no match for local intrigue. The most powerful man at Poona was Daulatrao Scindia, who doubtless wished the control of the Peshwa's forces to be in the hands of his own subordinate, a Nepolitan of low birth and indifferent reputation. The British Assistant Resident wrote

on 12th October 1797: "Mr. Boyd has been obliged, much against his will, to hand over his corps to Michael Filose, and departs to Bombay to sail immediately for his native country." The sum he was to receive for his corps was Rs. 35,000 an inadequate sum which, however, he seems to have had difficulty in recovering, as the British Agent writes on 11th December that Boyd, who had been living in the Residency since 22nd November, had left for Bombay on the 10th December, to sail for his own country.

His career in India must have been interesting enough, and quite so colourful as a writer quoted in the *American Dictionary* rather incorrectly, "Riding into the very heart of Tippoo's dominions, he would strike a series of paralysing blows, burn a dozen towns, exact a huge indemnity. Military history presents no more fantastic picture than that of this Yankee adventurer, spurring across an Indian country side with a brigade of be-turbanned lancers, and a score or so of lumbering elephants, the muzzles of field guns frowning from their howdahs, tearing along behind him."

Although his American biographer says that Boyd returned to America "after nearly a score of years in India", there seems no reason to doubt that he left it at the end of 1797, as suggested by the Poona Resident. If he had remained longer in India he would certainly have been heard of in the next few years when military adventures had so many opportunities. We hear of him next when he re-entered the American Army in 1808 as colonel of the 4th Infantry Regiment. When war broke out in 1812 between Great Britain and the United States, officers with field experience must have been rare in the army of the latter and it is not surprising that Boyd was commissioned as brigadier-general, and sent to the Canadian frontier. He thus came to be in command at the battle of Chrystler's Farm on 1st November 1813.

James Murray

Born about 1771 James Murray must still have been young when he entered Holkar's service. Here occurred the most creditable episode in his career when he prevented Holkar from killing in cold blood same of Scindia's European officers who had been taken prisoner. Murray is said to have drawn a dagger upon Holkar himself, and Long, whose admiration for him was distinctly limited, rightly says: "This was a noble and generous action, worthy of record as Murray risked his own life for those who were not his own countrymen, but Englishmen and foreigners." With the other European officers of the Mahratta armies, Murray came over to the British when war became inevitable. He was granted a monthly pension of Rs. 400 but was soon actively employed.

In September 1804 he was appointed to raise a cavalry regiment in the Shekhawati country, with Long as his only European officer. The latter did not altogether approve of his commanding officer, partly because Murray proposed the sacking or an inoffensive town to which Long would not agree, and perhaps also because Murray had once sold him a worthless horse which almost cost Long his life in the next action. Murray was

according to Long, very savage and almost crazy brained when he had become what Long calls "cherry-merry" over a bottle. A court of enquiry on some outrageous action of his was only lenient because of Murray's good conduct in action on several occasions, a testimony to his military capacity, if not to his sobriety. Long, however, allows that Murray was a good judge of character, and there was no doubt about his courage. It was no light task to raise a regiment from men many of whom had served with the forces whom they would meet in the field and whom there was no time to drill or even to clothe uniformly. Shortly after the formation of the corps, Murray found that a large portion of in intended to loot the treasure which they had been ordered to escort. With the loyal section of his men he attacked and dispersed the remainder with the result that the corps was temporarily reduced from 1200 to 400 men.

After being engaged in the first fighting which occurred between the Sikhs and the Company's troops, Murray was ordered to Moradabad to escort treasure. He fell in with Amir Khan, the leader of the Pindaris, with 7000 horsemen. Murray took up a position round a small village while Amir Khan called up Holkar's main force of 11,000 men. Long describes Amir Khan, whom he could see through his telescope, as a cut-throat looking fellow, as ugly as sin, and unkindly adds: "He and Murray had been old acquaintances and were certainly of one fraternity of plunderers." This bond of union did not prevent Amir Khan from launching thirteen assault on Murray's position, in the last of which Amir Khans nephew was killed by Murray himself. It was, as Long says, a remarkable performance for 800 men to beat off 18,000, of the same description as themselves, and just as well armed.

Murray reached the rank of major[9] but did not live to return to his native land, with the fortune he had acquired, though he bought and freighted an American ship for the purpose. He was showing off a favourite horse, being, as Long tells us, considered one of the best horsemen and swordsmen in India, when he was thrown and received injuries from which he died at Calcutta on 3rd September, 1806 at the age of 35. As soon as his death was announced, Long says, the American captain of the ship he had freighted set sail and was never traced, "leaving Murray' widow minus about £ 40,000." The widow was presumably the Moslem "Bebee Jiu", who was described as his widow when she died in August 1810. Murray's grave still exists, and he may claim the distinction of being the first national of the United States known to be buried in India.

Josiah Halran

The last of these American subjects, Josiah Harlan, was the greatest adventurer of the three, though he came too late for the golden age of such men. He is the only one to have left an account of his own exploits, in a book published in 1842 and in a second volume which, though its approaching appearance was trumpeted in the first book, did not see the light till 1939.

Born in Pennsylvania in 1799, of Quaker parents, Harlan first

appeared in the East in 1823. When the Burmese War began, the East India Company engaged a number of temporary assistant surgeons for that unhealthy campaign. He was accepted for service as an assistant surgeon in July, 1824, and served in Burma for about eight months in the following year, when he was invalided to India. There he served with various corps till 1827, when the temporary medical officers were dispensed with. Harlan tried unsuccessfully to obtain service with Ranjit Singh,[10] the Ruler of the Punjab, and then turned to Shah Shuja, the ex-king of Afghanistan who was living in exile at Ludhiana. Harlan undertook the dangerous task of visiting Afghanistan to work for Shah Shuja's return, and went to Kabul in the garb of a dervish. The Punjab records show, however, that he had a second string to his bow, as he offered to supply information to the British authorities in India. He sent some letters to Wade, the Political Officer in the Punjab, who, however, stopped the correspondence as he thought that Harlan was posing as a British agent, Harlan returned to the Punjab and to Shah Shuja, who could reward him only with the titles of "Companion of the stirrup" and "King's Nearest Friend."

It may have been at this period that, according to Kaye, he hoisted the American flag at Ludhiana, raised a rabble and raided some villages. If so, this was probably the first occasion of the Stars and Stripes being flown in India. He was, however, successful in entering the service of Ranjit Singh where he remained for nearly seven years, and was Governor, which must be taken as the translation of Kardar, of some small districts. He does not seem to have had any military command, but when Dost Mahomed in 1835 brought down an Afghan Army to try to recover Peshawar, Harlan was sent by Ranjit Singh, to seduce the Amir's brother and to corrupt his soldiers, with money. This, he tells us, he did with such success that the army faded away.

In the next year, 1836, came his parting with Ranjit Singh. According to his own story he was angered by some action of the Ruler. Other accounts say that he attempted to obtain an extortionate fee from Ranjit Singh for medical attendance. He joined Dost Mahomed, and takes most of the credit for the defeat of the Sikhs by the Afghans at Jamrud in 1837: More impartial accounts ascribe the credit for the victory to the action of a disreputable British adventurer named Rattray. By his own story he was made a general, and as such, under the nominal command of one of the Amir's family, led an expedition against a prince in Tartary, across the Hindu Khush or, as he puts it: "I surmounted the Indian Caucasus, and there unfurled my country's banner to the breeze. On the highest pass of the frosty Caucasus, the Star Spangled Banner gracefully waved among the icy peaks."

In 1839 came the British expedition to restore Shah Shuja. According to Harlan, Dost Mahomed appointed him Commander-in-Chief to meet the invasion, with the title of "General on the Staff". The British records says that Harlan did medical work and was treated by the Amir with unmerited severity. Following the British invasion, he returned safely to his native

land. Here he found himself less well off than he had hoped, the money he had sent from India having been badly invested by his doctor brother. He acquired a wife, however, his first words to his bride after the wedding being "How does it feel to be Mrs. General Harlan?"

The American Civil War gave him a fresh field of activity. In 1861 he raised a regiment known as Harlan's Light Horse, though he only served till 1862 when he retired through ill health. Towards the end of his life he migrated to California and ended his career, as he had begun it, practising as a doctor though still without any regular qualification. He died in San Francisco in October 1871. Although the verdict of Kaye that Harlan was "versatile and unscrupulous" can hardly be disputed, his personality and striking appearance impressed many who met him. Indubitable also was the courage with which he faced risks enhanced by the tortuous line of conduct which by his own showing he often followed.

First American Soldier to die in India

The next class of Americans in India to be noticed are those who were born in the territory now the United States, but entered the service of the mother country. The oldest of these, Ensign Samuel Pippit, must have begun his soldiering long before the Revolution was thought of. His tombstone at Ganjam in Madras Province shows that he died on 21st December, 1800, aged 70 years, having been born in New Jersey and having served the King and Company for over 50 years. As he obtained his commission in the Company's Service in 1779 he must have risen from the ranks, and probably served previously in a King's Regiment. We know nothing more of this old warrior, who may fairly claim to be the first soldier of American birth known to have died in India. A fair number of sons of American Loyalists entered the Company's Service both civil and military, and several rose to high rank, but the only well known one was Sir David Ochterlony (1758-1825). His father, of good Scottish landed family, settled in Boston and married a lady of that city. The father died in 1765, and the mother took the children to Great Britain. Ochterlony's distinguished services in India are still commemorated by the monument in Calcutta. Major General Anthony Monin of the Madras Establishment may be mentioned, as one whose father is said to have fallen in the American War, and who therefore was given a "child commission". His tombstone at Trichinopoly states that he died on 5th January 1893, in his 65th year, having served the King and the Company for a period of 60 years. His commission as Ensign in the King's Service was dated 22nd October, 1778, so that the claim of 60 years' service is correct. It appears from his own statement in his papers, however, that he was born in North America about 1768, so that he was nearer ten than five years of age when he received the commission due to his father's death.

Another interesting figure was Henry Clinton Cortlandt whose father, Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, descended from an ancient Dutch family in New York, fought as strenuously on the British side in the War of

Independence as some of his relatives did on the American side. Henry, one of Philip's 23 children, though never in the Company's Army, served for many years in British regiments in India, and was still living there till nearly 1850. His son was Henry Charles Van Cortlandt, who was a general in the Sikh Service, and did such good service at the Siege of Multan and in the Indian Mutiny finally retiring on the full pay of a British colonel.

Posed as Americans

The third class of Americans have no real claim to that distinction, and are only noticed because to this day, in spite of numerous exposures, they are occasionally described as such. The assertion of American nationality by deserts from the British services was useful, to conceal their identity, and as a convenient excuse for Ranjit Singh, whose service they generally sought, if he was not to entertain deserters. The most notorious of these men was Alexander Gardiner, whose accent was recognised by Henry Lawrence, who ought to have known, as being Irish. He was concerned in a peculiarly disgraceful case in which he mutilated a Brahmin prisoner of Jawahir Singh, when the latter's Indian subordinates had refused to do so. Owing to Gardiner's skill as an artillery man, he was retained by Gulab Singh, Maharaja of Jammu, who made him a colonel. Though Gradiner's character was scathingly exposed by Henry Lawrence and Herbert Edwardes, he got away with it so well that Sir Henry Durand wrote an article, and Major Pearse a complete book, about his imaginary achievements. A less sensational and less disreputable person was Francis John Kanara, who is probably identical with the Kenny or Kennedy, mentioned in the British records as serving in the Khalsa Army. Like his friend Gardiner, he claimed to have been in Philadelphia. Like him also he had a strong Irish accent. Whatever his life, his end at least was creditable. In command of a battery in Hazara he refused to obey the order of the rebellious Sikh officers to move without Captain Abbott's sanction, and, as the inscription on the obelisk which Abbots erected to his memory states fell singly combatting the foe. In an article in an English journal mentioning this still surviving memorial, the statement is made that it commemorates "Canara the only American to die on the Frontier." On the other hand, when Kanara's last surviving son, Patrick, died about 1938 at the age of ninety, it was stated in an Indian paper that his father was a Frenchman. That he was really Irish there can be no doubt.

The last adventurer claiming to be an American was the most remarkable and the most respectable. James Lewis, the son of a London liveryman, was born in 1800, and enlisted in the Company's Artillery, in which he served at the Siege of Bhurtpur in 1825. He must have deserted very soon afterwards, as his travels began in 1826. He gave himself out to be Charles Masson, an American born in Kentucky. His adventures would take too long to narrate. Suffice it to say that he was distinguished as a geographer, an archaeologist and a numismatist. He gave most valuable information to the Company's Government; his desertion was pardoned,

and he was given a sum of money and a small pension till his death in England in 1853. It is curious that, though his identity was known, and is mentioned in several books, the belief that he was an American has persisted. Even so well informed a geographer as Sir Thomas Holdich described him as such in 1910.

Notes and References

1. V.L.
2. Some other notable English and Anglo-Briton adventurers were J.H. Beliasis, Gardner, Shephered, Armstrong, Dawes, Dodd, Ryan, Vickers, Smith, and James Skinner. The oldest recorded English grave in India is of John Middenhall, merchant, adventurer and self-styled ambassador to the Mughal court at Ajmer in 1612.
3. Extracts from Major Ambrose's Tract entitled *A Letter on the Present Crisis of Affairs in India addressed to Edward Parry, Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company.*
4. The Court of Directors issued an order on 26th August, 1826 prohibiting military officers from commercial speculation."Any military officer" says the order, "who may be proved summarily, to the satisfaction of the Governor-General in Council, to have been engaged in any merchantile or commercial speculation whatsoever, shall be held *ipso facto* incapable of serving, and shall be forthwith suspended and sent to Europe, with a recommendation to the Hon'ble Court of Directors that he be dismissed from their army." In England, men intrigued and bribed their way to obtain very junior posts in the East India Company in the hope of sharing in the spoils of a vast sub-continent. Thus Clive, who went to India as a writer at salary of £ 5 a year, was able, seven years later, to declare himself "The wealthiest of His Majesty's subjects". Lester Hutchinson's *European Freebooters in Moghul India.*
5. The first European ladies who made the voyage to India were Portuguese. According to Pietro Della Valte, who visited India in 1523 "Poor, but well descended orphans which wont to be sent from Portugal every year at the king's charge with a dowry which the king gives them, to the end they may be married in India, in order to further the peopling of the Portugal Colonies in those parts." Of the first adventurers among English ladies we can find no definite account. But it is believed they started arriving in small numbers in India about 1773, when a bride was gazetted as "a young lady of beauty and infinite accomplishments recently arrived from England." On a young lady landing she was in a manner "exhibited" before those in search of partners.
6. To show deference to the then prevailing custom of Hookah, Governor-General Hasting's invitation card dt. 1st October, 1779 reveals: "Mr. and Mrs. Hastings present their compliments to Mr.—, and request the favour of his company to a concert and super, on Thursday next, at Mrs. Hastings' house in town. The concert to begin at 8 o'clock. Mr.— is requested to bring no servants except his *houccaburdar.*
7. Lt. Thomas Bacon who met Begum Samru at Sirdhana in 1836, wrote: "In person the Begum is very diminutive and still retains vestiges of form beauty at the age of 88. Her expression is lively and intelligent." He added, "She was by birth Cashmerian, but by faintly Georgian."

   Once Begum Samru came to Delhi to visit Lord Lake, who, when informed, rushed out and being flushed with wine, forgot all the proprieties and kissed her on both cheeks on the spot. While the European Officers were surprised to see an English General over sixty suddenly kissing a fat native woman of fifty, the Segum's followers reacted very strongly with horror and dismay and drew their swords.

But Begum Samru displayed great presence of mind and said, "It is the salute of a father to his daughter." Everybody quieted down, but Lard Lake's kiss was famous for a century.

8. Sir Patrick Cadell.
9. Such adventurers had no opportunity to rise in the Company's service since a letter of Court of Directors dt. 19th February, 1766 laid down; "No Foreign Officer is to be promoted to a higher Rank than a Major."
10. Unlike the Mahratta Chiefs, Ranjit Singh did not hire disciplined troops from European Officers, but engaged the officers as his servants to train his own troops. European officers of the Maharatta Chiefs and other rulers hired their troops to the highest bidder whereas those of Maharaja Ranjit Singh were servants of the State. Allard and Ventura in 1822, Court, Avitabile, Oms and Mevius. In 1827 and Gardner in 1831 were employed in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Punjab.

9

Administration of Army

It is said that the organisation and administration of an army embrace endless details, not one of which may be neglected without the risk of deranging, or throwing entirely out of gear, the harmonious working of a most complex living machine. The practical art of moving armies is "nothing more or less, says Jomini, than the science of applying all possible military knowledge." The army requires reinforcement of men, weapons and food; its requirements in cattle (vehicles), ammunition, provisions and stores of all kinds must be provided in time or the army cannot exist. The supply administration and ancilliary services[1] of an army is a special study. "The results of a campaign are gauged by the victories and other feats of arms; adequate credit is seldom accorded to the efforts of the administrative officers who indirectly contribute great share to its successful issue." We may be all familiar with most of the British victorious Marshals, Generals and Admirals who fought and won in India, do we know of their supply officers? *(Ed.)*

The Beginnings

In the early days of the Company, the Council at each Presidency exercised all military functions, including that of command. Later upto the middle of the year 1756 when the Nawab of Bengal ousted the English from Calcutta and even afterwards upto 1763, the Public Department of the East India Company carried on all the details of the military administration including the shaping of policy and conduct of warfare. In March 1771, a Controlling Military Committee took over its functions but seems to have been abolished in 1774. The office of the Quarter Master General in Bengal was created in 1773 and that of the Adjutant General[2] to the Bengal Army in 1774. Consequent upon the passing of the Regulating Act, 1773, when the Government of Bengal became the Supreme Government, it had in 1774, Public, Secret and Revenue as its main Departments.

In Bombay, a 'Committee of Secrecy', consisting of the President, the Second in Council, the Commander of the Troops, the Major, and the Superintendent of the Marine, was constituted and remained in control of military operations and political negotiations till August 1775.

In Madras, the Committees of Stores and Works dealt with military administration. Mainly responsible for procurement and supply of Ordnance and Engineer stores and works and Commissariat items, it looked after the administration, though partly, of troops also.

Board of Ordnance

On 8th April, 1775, a Board of Ordnance[3] as planned and recommended by Lt. General Sir John Clavering C-in-C was established in Bengal to regulate military expenditure and for better distribution of military stores. The details of duties involved, among other things, the issue of military stores, provision of stores by contract, examination of military contracts for supply to Forts with materials, inspection of Engineer reports of works and the weekly accounts relating to the various transactions. All military indents were also to pass through this Board. In Bombay, a Board of Ordnance was established in September, 1779, while in Madras, the Committees of Stores and Works continued functioning and a Board of Ordnance, was not formed.

Military Board

In Octoder, 1776 Warren Hastings laid before the Council a plan by which the management and direction of all military affairs were to be entrusted to a new Military Department with the Town Major[4] as Secretary. The Military Department thus created and the already existing Board of Ordnance, the first real attempt at an organisation for the control of military expenditure and to provide administration and military services to troops, were absorbed in a broad-based Military Board in May 1786 which continued till the end of April, 1855. The Military Board was duly formed in 1786 in Bengal, Madras and Bombay.[5] It was ordered that this Military Board was not to be independent of the Council, it was to be a 'Board of Reference and Report.' The Court of Directors' letter of 21st September, 1785 ordering constitution of the Board said, "We direct that the Board consist of, 1st—the C-in-C, 2nd—the Senior Officer at the Presidency, 3rd—the Senior officer of the Artillery, 4th—the Chief Engineer, 5th—the Adjutant General, 6th—the Quarter-master General, 7th—the Military Auditor General." It was further laid down that, "The Military Board is to possess no authority exclusive of and independent of the Supreme Civil Government, but are, in all respects, to act under it, and through the medium of its authority." In actual working, however, the Military Board, composed as it was of seniormost officers, had almost complete control over military matters. Lord Dalhousie in a letter dated February 1855, wrote: "Before I left Calcutta I had the satisfaction of issuing a General Order abolishing the Military Board. When I came to India this Board was omnipotent and omnipresent. It managed everything and marred everything. It had under it the Commissariat, the Ordnance, the Powder Factory, the Gun Foundry, the Department of Public Works, the studs and diverse other things."

All Powerful Board

Duties of the Military Board were to examine into the state of muster of troops, to keep itself regularly informed of the quantity and quality of provisions, ammunition and stores of every kind in forts, granaries, and garrisons and to attend to the artillery, arms and implements of engineering. Every kind of expenditure was to come under its revision and control. In short, it was a board of reference and report for the purpose of inspection and for preventing abuses and deficiencies and performing administrative and executive functions subject to the final authority of its Supreme Government. In December 1830 the Military Board was re-organised and the following departments were under its control viz. 1. Ordnance, 2. Public Works, 3. Canal Embarkment, 4. Commissariat, and 5. Stud. In 1843 the office of the Commissary General was incorporated with the military Board, that officer being appointed one of its members. From 1850 the functions of the Board began to be curtailed and the portion of business connected with the civil division of the Public Works was the first to be taken over by the Home Department. In 1853 the Commissariat Branch was separated and placed under the sole charge of the Commissary General. In April 1855 the superintendence of the Ordnance Department was entrusted to an Inspector General of Ordnance and Magazine. The duties of the Military Board had thus become so thinned that it was decided to abolish it w.e.f. 1 May, 1855 and assigned its remaining functions to the newly constituted Public Works Departments. It devolved upon the Secretary in that Department to wind up the affairs of Military Board, which did nor terminate till the end of 1858.

Seventy Years' Rule

For seventy years (1786-1855), the Military Boards of the three presidencies conducted the financial, technical and equipment affairs of the Company's forces in India. Some important constitutional, political, territorial, economic and military changes took place during this period. In 1786 Lord Cornwallis took over as Governor-General after he was allowed authority to overrule his council and the Commander-in-Chief, by the Amendment Act of 1786. 'The Charter Act of 1793 conferred this power of over-riding a majority decision of the Councillors to the Governor-General and the Governors. Thus the Governor-General was made the supreme authority over the company's civil and military affairs and feuds and jealousies which plagued relations between Governor-General Warren Hastings and the C-in-C General Clavering did not erupt in the later period. It will be noted with some interest that the Acts subsequent to the Regulating Act (1773) were passed after every twenty years, i.e. 1793, 1813, 1833 and 1853 and each Act extended the privileges of the Company for another 20 years. The Act of 1813 laid down that the Governor-General, Governor and Commander-in-Chief were henceforth to be appointed by the Court of Directors subject to the approval of His Majesty through the President of the Board of Control. By the Charter Act of 1833 the Governor-

General of Bengal was made the Governor-General of India and was given full authority to "superintend, direct and control" the governments of the remaining parts of India in all matters relating to the civil, military and revenue administration. The Act of 1853 gave further powers to the Board of Control and the emergence of the 'Secret Committee' and the system of nomination of one third of the total of eighteen directors further reduced the authority of the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company over the administration of civil and military affairs.

The Commissariat

During the first century of the arrival of the Britishers in India when they settled along the coastline, their troops were supplied food either from the ships which also served as storehouses for arms, ammunition, clothing and other miscellaneous military supplies or direct from the town markets. As the number of troops increased later, victuals and transport began to be supplied to the troops stationed in the fortifications, either by private contractors or agents, who were usually servants of the Company. The office of Commissary General was created during 1760 in each of the three Presidencies, abolished and revived in 1773. His duties were to bring control and regulate all pay-masters and contractors and to audit and verify all bills for military charges, more a Controller of Military Accounts than a Director of Supplies and Transport. All heads of military expenditure later came under the control and supervision of the Board of Ordnance when it was established on 8th April 1775 and after that with the Military Board in September 1786. The system of supplying rations and transport to the troops differed considerably in detail in each Presidency from time to time. However, a uniform commissariat organisation was established by an order of December 1809. The Commissariat, under the overall supervision of the Military Board, was placed entirely under the direction and control of the Commissary-General with the rank of Lt. Col. assisted by one Deputy Commissary-General with the rank of Major. It was to embrace the following branches of military supply; viz.

"1. Victualling the European Troops, and supplying of Rum[6] for Store.
2. Provision and feeding of Elephants.
3. Provision and feeding of Bullocks.
4. Provision of Horses, for the Service of the Cavalry and Horse Artillery.
5. Provision and feeding of Camels.
6. Supplying of Gram for the Cavalry and Horse Artillery.
7. Provision of Boats for the Transportation of Troops and Stores.
8. Provision of Petty Stores, for the use of the Magazines.
9. Supplying of Draft or Carriage Cattle, Hackeries or Carts, when occasionally required.
10. Supplying of Quilts for the European Troops."

Whereas British (European) troops were rationed by the Company in peace and war, Native troops received their rations from the Company in time of war. Followers who often outnumbered the rest of the Army bought their rations from the bazar of the camp since they were not entitled to free rations. All general bazars appertaining to Garrisons, Divisions, principal Stations of the Army and Sudder Bazars[7] to Corps functioned under the control of the respective Officer Commanding who appointed Bazar Sergeant, Cutwal and Chowdry for the purpose of preserving order and conducting the internal economy of the Bazar under his control.

Viceroy and Governor-General

After the Great Uprising, governance of the country was taken over by the Crown in 1858 from the East India Company.[8] The Government of India, henceforth, apart from the important functions of government and control exercised by the Secretary of State for India and his Council in this country, consisted of the Viceroy and Governor-General, assisted by Members of Council, representing the great departments of Indian administration; and that the civil government of the country was carried on by the central or supreme government through Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, or Chief Commissioners of provinces.

And the first and central fact to fix upon was that the Viceroy, as the representative of the Crown, and the Governor-General in Council; was by his warrant of appointment from the Sovereign, responsible for the superintendence, direction, and control of the whole military government.

Central Administration

The outline is easily described. The supreme authority rested with the Governor-General-in-Council. The Council being the Cabinet of the Indian Empire. Two military authorities shared the burden of work between them, the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member of Council, the latter being responsible for the Army Departments of supply, transport, remounts, ordnance, military works, and finance, thus leaving the Commander-in-Chief, whose colleague he was free to command the Army, to supervise its preparation for war in every branch of this immense business, and to satisfy himself by personal inspection that it was in a state of readiness.

The Military Department, a War Office of very modest dimensions, was the central office, and was the agency through which military business was submitted to the Viceroy, and, if necessary, to the Council. The Secretary of the Military Department may perhaps be said to correspond to a Permanent Under-Secretary in the War Office. He had great responsibilities in the conduct of military business, and was assisted by a staff of officers and clerks.

Both the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member of Council had seats in the Indian Cabinet or Council, so that the Army was represented from every point of view.

If we grasp these cardinal facts of Indian Army administration, then we can easily fill in the outline. The Commander-in-Chief was, naturally, the prominent figure in the Army structure. He practically made all appointments to the staff and commands, except some minor ones, and also appointed to the command of all native regiments.

Under him were the five Lieut. Generals commanding the forces in the Punjab, Bengal, Bombay, Madras and Burma, and he worked through four chief officers, his personal Military Secretary, the Adjutant-General, the Quartermaster-General, and the Principal Medical Officer.

Under the Adjutant-General was grouped the Inspecting Officers of Cavalry, Artillery and Volunteers, the Recruiting Staff Officers, the Director of Military Education, the Principal Veterinary Officer, and the Judge-Advocate-General.

The Quartermaster-General dealt with the movement of troops and the distribution of the Army, and had under him branches for intelligence and mobilisation. These four chief officers and their deputies and assistants formed the Headquarter Staff of the Army.

Next to the Commander-in-Chief stood the Military Member of Council in charge of the Military Department, dealing with the Army business which was not concerned with personnel, or with the command and training of the troops. There were five chief officers for this class of work, the Director-Generals of Ordnance, Supply and Transport, Remounts, Military Works, and the Accountant-General.

The Accountant-General was a military officer at the head of Army finance, and was the Chief of the Military Accounts Department.

Neither the Commander-in-Chief nor the Lieut.-Generals of the large Commands had any special responsibility for the Army Estimates, and their direct financial powers were limited to comparatively small sums, while the Military Department was bound to refer questions of new or recurring expenditure to the Finance Department of Indian Treasury. On the other hand, the Commander-in-Chief had immense influence on the course of military expenditure, and the chiefs of the Army Departments of Supply, who had great individual responsibility, were constantly consulted by the Commander-in-Chief on questions affecting the Army which he desired to bring forward.

, The leading principles of Army administration in India were—First, the separation between command and administration; secondly, that the commander and administrator had seats in the Council or Cabinet; thirdly, the preservation of the influence of the Commander-in-Chief on every important question of Army business by his presence in Council, and by his relations with the heads of departments; fourthly, that every appointment connected with the Army, whether in command or administration, was filled from the Army.

Authority Centred in C-in-C

"Prior to 1906 there were two members of the Executive Council, the

Commander-in-Chief, who was responsible for command and executive work, and who had under him 3 principal staff officers the Adjutant General, the Quartermaster General and the Principal Medical Officer; and the Military Member, also a soldier, who was responsible for the administrative work of the Army, and who had under him the Director-General of Ordnance, the Director General of Supply and Transport and the Director General of Military Works. This member therefore combined the functions of administration and supply, besides being the authority to whom the Commander-in-Chief had to refer for sanction all such proposals as required the orders of Government. Under this arrangement the Government of India had two military advisers. This system was abandoned in 1906 in favour of an arrangement under which a department of Military Supply was created and placed in-charge of another soldier, with the rank of Major-General, who also had a seat in the Executive Council.

In 1909, however, this department was abolished and a new system was introduced, under which all the work connected with the administration of the Army, the formulation and execution of the military policy of the Government of India, the responsibility for maintaining every branch of the Army, combatant and non-combatant, in a state of efficiency and the supreme direction of any military operations based upon India, are centred in one authority, the Commander-in-Chief and Army Member."[9]

Notes and References

1. It is the man behind the machine rather than the machine itself, they say, that counts in a war. While that may be generally true, there are men behind the men that man the machines playing an equally important role in determining the fate of a war. These are the people who mostly belong to what are called the services. While the Armoured Corps, Artillery, Cavalry and Infantry and even Signals and Engineers are the fighting arms, the Army Ordnance Corps, Service Corps and Medical Corps constituted the main services.
2. The Quarter Master General and the Adjutant General of the Army rank, ex-officio, as Lieutenant Colonels; their Deputies as Majors; and Brigade Majors as Captains. *M.C., 14th April, 1788.*
3. As in the case of Ordnance Office, the Board of Ordnance is also of much antiquity in England but date of its establishment is uncertain. In 154, Sir Philip Hoby was styled Master of the Ordnance in Great Britain. In 1683, the care of the Board of Ordnance was committed to five principal officers, besides the Master-General, then Lord Dartmouth, viz. a Lieutenant-General, Surveyor-General, Clerk of the Ordnance, Store-keeper and a Clerk of Deliveries. This Board was to act under the directions of the Master-General who in his military capacity was Commander-in-Chief.

   The Indian Board of Ordnance established on 8th April, 1775, the foundation of the Military Board, was composed of the Governor General as President, the C-in-C, Members of Council, Commissary General, Commandant of Artillery, Chief Engineer, Commissary of Stores, and the Military Store-keeper.
4. When an European Soldier obtains leave to visit the Presidency, he is to be ordered to report his arrival to the Town Major at Fort William, to whom likewise a report of the circumstance is to be made by the Officer Commanding

the Corps or Department to which the Man may belong. *G.O.C.C., 12th February, 1819.*

5. In Bombay, the Military Board was abolished in 1831 by Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay. Heads of Departments were asked to correspond directly with Government or the Commander-in-Chief.
6. Regimental canteens for the supply of wholesome liquor to the European soldiery at all stations were started vide G.O.C.C., 21st April, 1828, where Rum was retailed at 1 Anna per Dram. The profits were appropriated for the welfare and maintenance of the Regimental School, Soldiers' Library, Soldiers' Messes, Amusement and Exercise, Funds for Widows, Orphans and Old and Disabled Soldiers.
7. Sudder Bazar was established at Barrackpore in June 1817, at Karnal in 1825, at Mathura in 1827, at Ferozepore in 1840 and at Delhi Cantonment in 1842.
8. " . . . Whereas for diverse weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the Government of the territories in India, here to fore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company. And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the royalty, ability and judgement of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin Charles John, Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first Viceroy and Governor-General . . .", *Proclamation by Queen Victoria, November 1, 1858.*
9. *The Army in India and its Evolution.*

10

British War Campaigns in India

Although there were 'factories', a they were called, established by the East India Company at Surat, on the West Coast, and at Masulipatam, on the East Coast, yet the three principal bases from which all commercial and military enterprise of the British sprang were Madras, Bombay and Calcutta in the seventeenth century. Sea power founded the British Empire in India, army power developed and consolidated it. According to Lord Macaulay, the man who first visualised that it was possible to found an European empire on the ruins of Mughal monarchy was Dupleix, who clearly saw that the greatest force which the princes of India could bring into the field would be no match for a small body of men trained in the discipline and guided by the tactics of the West. It is one of history great ironies that the French paved way for British sway in India in one of the decisive battles as given below. *(Ed.)*

First Battle with Portuguese

Within three years of landing of the ship "Hector" at Surat in 1607, it became clear to the Directors of the East India Company, that if they wished to continue and develop their trade in India, they must be prepared to meet force by superior force and maintain better armed vessels to cope with the Dutch and Portuguese, and with the pirates which in those days infested the coasts of India. Early in 1612 they, therefore, despatched two ships, the "Dragon" and "Hoseander" afterwards joined by the "James" and "Solomon," and the command was given to Captain Thomas Best, who sailing on the 1st of 14 February arrived in Surat roadstead on the 5th of September. The first action was fought with the Portuguese, who appeared off Surat with a fleet of 4 galleons and more than twenty armed vessels. Captain Best in the "Dragon" at once assumed the offensive, and engaged the flagship, and after 3 days' fighting gained a signal victory and drove "three of their four ships aground on the sands thwart of the Barre of Surat." For 3 years Captain Best with his small squadron was engaged in almost continuous warfare, and with such success that they culminated in a fresh grant by the Emperor Jahangir to the East India Company of a Firman, authorizing the English to trade within his dominions.

Campaigns against the French

After Aurangzeb's death, in 1707, the Mughal Emperors became successively weaker. Their Viceroys of the great provinces took advantage of this weakness to carry on private wars. The passes of the North-West Frontier were left unguarded, and Nadir Shah of Persia invaded India in 1736, sacked Delhi, annexed Afghanistan and acquired loot to the value of Rupees five hundred millions.

During these troubled times the French, like Britishers and the Dutch, had established trading settlements in India. With an eye to their sea communications they had first occupied Mauritius (Isle de France) and Reunion (Bourbon) in the South Indian Ocean, and later founded factories in India at Pondicherry, south of Madras, and at Chandarnagore and Cossimbazar on the Hughli in Bengal. At first unsuccessful and almost bankrupt, from 1730 onwards they grew more prosperous under several able governors, the most important of whom, Joseph Francois Dupleix, had arrived at Pondicherry as a young man of 25 years in 1722. Mauritius was converted from a useless overgrown island into a flourishing settlement and naval base by another Frenchman, Bertrand de la Bourdonnais, in 1735; and by 1744, when the war of the Austrian Succession broke out, the French were, on the whole, rather in the ascendant in the Indian Ocean.

Adyar or San Thome

The battle of Adyar, or San Thome as it has also been called, was the first to be fought between the Indians and the foreign traders who had established themselves in trading "factories." It "inaugurated a new era," says Malleson. "It introduced a fresh order of things, it was the first decided step to the conquest of Hindustan by a European power. Before 1746, when this battle was fought, the foreign traders did not dream of questioning the authority of the Indian rulers. After that eventful day, was "dissolved . . . the spell which had hitherto kept Europeans in dread of native armies."

In October 1741, Dupleix had become Governor of Pondicherry. To this ambitious and farsighted man the war which broke out between France and England in Europe in 1745 seemed a good opportunity to attack Madras, the principal establishment of the Frenchmen's chief rivals on the Coromandal coast, the English. The Nawab of the Carnatic had forbidden the English to fight the French, and the English had obeyed. But in 1746 the French, who enjoyed temporary military and naval superiority on the coast, resolved to attack Madras.

The English Governor appealed to the Nawab to forbid the French to do so. According to Malleson, he committed the imprudence of sending his envoy empty-handed into the presence of the Nawab, who was enraged by this "barbaric insolence." Dupleix's agent, on the other hand, brought "choice and costly presents from Europe." It may be doubted whether this comparatively trivial issue decided the Nawab not to forbid the French to attack Madras as, at that time he could easily have done. Anyway, he did not restrain them.

On September 5, 1746, La Bourdonnais, the French General who was also Governor of Mauritius, landed in Madras a little to the north of the place where Vivekananda House stands today and occupied Chintadripet. A letter from La Bourdonnais announcing his occupation of the English Governor's garden house (where the General Hospital is now located) was received in Pondicherry on September 18. Three days later Pondicherry received news that Fort St. George had surrendered.

But on September 26 Dupleix received a letter from Mahfuz Khan, the son of the Nawab of the Carnatic, demanding that the French evacuate Madras on pain of an invasion. Dupleix prevaricated. He took refuge under the plea that the French had first to obey the orders of their King who had declared war on the English. Duval d'Espremesnil, a son-in-law of Dupleix, was given full powers over Madras, though La Bourdonnais, a proud and haughty man, was on the spot. But Dupleix and La Bourdonnais had quarrelled over the ransoming of Madras which the latter had agreed to (after, it is suspected, having been bribed) and the former would not accept.

Mahfuz Khan appeared before Fort St. George, now in French hands, at the head of 10,000 men, mostly cavalry. He occupied Mylapore and the surrounding regions. Dupleix suggested to Ananda Ranga Pillai (from whose diary many of these details are taken) that the latter go to Madras and "explain" the situation to Mahfuz Khan. The diarist advised against this.

Dupleix wrote letters to Mahfuz Khan and his father the Nawab. But Mahfuz Khan would not change his mind, and he resolved to attack the French. His troops occupied Triplicane and the Egmore Redoubt (where the present Egmore station stands). They also completely encircled George Town ("Black Town," as it was then called). Mahfuz Khan himself encamped on the banks of the Nungambakkam tank. His army seized the Seven Wells, then the only source of good water to the fort.

The first shot in the episode was fired when Barthelemy, in command at Madras in the absence of d'Espremesnil who had gone to Pondicherry "by boat," sailed out of the fort to capture the water spring. This attack, made on November 2, by a force of 400 men and two fieldpieces under de Ia Tour, was completely successful. The Nawab's artillery was primitive and clumsy. Malleson says: "Not only were these guns, as a rule, uncared for, or so old that it was a positive risk to fire them, but the natives (Indians) were so unskillful in their management that they thought they had done well when they discharged them once in a quarter of an hour. European artillery could fire the same piece five or six times a minute." This superiority in weapons explains the early European military victories in India.

The Nawab's army lost seventy men in this skirmish (and the French none at all). Mahfuz Khan raised the siege of the fort and took his position about two miles west of Madras." He learned there that a French force was marching northwards from Pondicherry to Madras. Led by Paradis, a Swiss engineer, it consisted of 230 Europeans and 700 sepoys, but it carried no

guns. Mahfuz Khan decided to prevent Paradis effecting a conjunction with the French in the fort. He occupied San Thome and took up a strong position on the north bank of the Adyar on November 3. On the morning of November 4, Paradis arrived at the south bank of the Adyar.

Paradis received a message from d'Espremesnil in the fort suggesting that he should not fight a battle until a detachment proposed to be sent under de Ia Tour should attack the Nawab's army from the rear at the same time as Paradis forded the river. Paradis rejected the suggestion. He forded the river. "Wading through it, they delivered one volley and charged. The effect was electric." The Nawab's guns did not function effectively, and the French gained the northern bank easily. The Nawab's troops broke and retreated into San Thome, near the western face of which they had previously erected, palisades. But the advancing French compelled them to retreat further. At this stage French detachment fell upon them from the other direction. The defeat became a rout. The army did not halt until it reassembled again at Arcot, the Nawab's capital.

Arcot, 1751

In mere self-preservation the English were compelled to support the rival claimant and a war began between French and English in India (1751). Affairs did not go too well for the English at first. Their small force with their native ally was hotly besieged by the French and their native ally in Trichinopoly, and there seemed little prospect of anything but disaster when the tide was turned by Clive, now a Captain and Commissariat officer in the little Madras Army. He realized that the only hope for Trichinopoly was to create a vigorous diversion elsewhere, and that no better choice could be made for such an operation than Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic and the seat of the French nominee's government. Accordingly, with 8 officers, 200 British troops and 300 Sepoys he launched his blow; marched the 65 miles to Arcot in 5 days and took it almost without a shot being fired (September 1751). Chanda Sahib, the ally of the French, hearing of the loss of his capital, then detached a force of 10,000 men from Trichinopoly to recapture the town, and Clive and his men were now besieged in the fort of Arcot for fifty days. At length, the besiegers attempted to storm the fort, but were beaten off with such losses after a night of desperate fighting that they retreated in disorder.[1] Clive was not a man to let slip the advantages of a success. He followed them up; defeated them at Arni where he captured all their artillery, and then again at Covrepauk (1752). And now, in company with Major Lawrence, who had returned from leave, he marched against the army besieging Trichinopoly (1752). The town was relieved; the French were completely defeated: their commander, troops and guns were captured. For over a year more fighting went on but Dupleix's great plan had failed and the French were on the defensive. Reinforcements had arrived from England, and for the first time a British Regiment, the 39th Foot, "Primus in India" (the 1st Bn. The Dorsets), together with a small detachment of Royal Artillery, had landed

in India (1754). In the same year Dupleix was relieved of his appointment and recalled to France, where, broken and disgraced, he died, in great poverty.

Battle against Seedee

In the latter half of the 18th century the position of the East India Company's trade at Surat was extremely critical, at times the Governor and the Mughal Admiral were at open feud, and this unfortunate condition of affairs was increased by the attitude of the English and Dutch factories fomenting the quarrels and espousing different sides, and constantly fighting against each other, though their respective countries were at peace. This state of affairs reached a climax in 1758 between the Nawab, Noras Ali Khan, and the Seedee, when the final rupture took place, the fleet sided, with the Admiral who seized the castle of Surat and appointed one Meer Atchund to the office of Nawab. Noras Ali Khan appealed to the English, and an expedition was fitted out at Bombay consisting of 5 ships of the Marine, 850 European troops and 1500 Sepoys under Commodore Watson of the Bombay Marine. The expedition sailed on the 9th of February 1752 and the troops were landed at Dentilowry about nine miles south of Surat. The first operation was against the "French Garden" where the Seedee had placed some troops, these were quickly dislodged and a battery carrying two 24 pounders and a 13 Mortar was erected, and a heavy but ineffectual bombardment of the walls was maintained for 3 days. A council of Naval and Military officers was then convened, and the following plan of attack was arranged. "The plan was" says Grose, a contemporary writer and traveller, "that the Company's grab of twenty guns and four Bomb ketches, should warp up the river in the night, and anchor in a line of battle opposite the Seedee's bundar, one of the strongest fortified places they had got. This they did and a general attack began from the vessels and battery at the appointed time on the first of March. The Captain's intentions in this, were to drive the enemy from their batteries, and to facilitate the landing of the Infantry at the Bundar, whom he had embarked in boats for their transportation. The Bomb ketches made a continual fire until half past eight, when a signal was made for the boats to put off and land under cover of the vessels. This proved very successful by the prudent conduct and gallant behaviour of Captain Watson, who landed the troops with loss of only one man. They attacked the Seedee's bundar and soon put his troops to flight, with the loss of Captain Robert Inglish, mortally wounded, Lieut. Pepperell wounded in the shoulder and several privates killed and wounded. Having gained this point and getting possession of the town with its fortifications, the next thing to be done was to attack the inner town and castle, for which purpose the 13 and 12 inch Mortars were planted on the Seedee's bundar, and began firing as soon as possible at the distance of seven hundred yards from the castle and five hundred from the inner town. About six in the evening the mortars began to play very briskly, and continued their fire until half past two the next morning, which unusual

attack, put the castle and town into such a consternation that they never returned a gun. Negotiations were then opened and after some time the fort was surrendered with no further fighting, the Seedee being allowed to march out with his arms and effects.

Baksar, 1764

The victories of Clives and Sir Eyre Coote in Southern India had deprived the French of the right to keep regular military forces in India, and the triumph of Plassey had given the East India Company the dominance in Bengal; but hard struggles were still to come. English had established themselves firmly in the eastern and least warlike portion of India, but in the south, west and north there were martial powers who would not succumb without hard fighting. Added to this there were still French military adventures in India prepared to train the infantry of Indian rulers on European lines.

An attempt of the nominal ruler of India, the Mughal Emperor of Delhi, to recover power in Bengal was defeated without great difficulty; but trouble followed with Mir Kasim, the Company's nominee as Nawab of Bengal, who was finally crushed by Major Hector Monro at the battle of Baksar (1764), one of the most critical battles ever fought in India. Bengal was now secure, but matters were far from satisfactory otherwise in Madras and Bombay, isolated by land from each other and from Bengal. Even after the Act of 1773 by which Warren Hastings as Governor-General of Bengal had been given general supremacy over both Madras and Bombay, their "presidents" and councils frequently got into trouble through pursuing their own ill-advised policies.

Mysore Wars

In Southern India Haidar Ali, had gained possession of the state of Mysore. The Madras government quarrelled with him; fought two indecisive campaigns in 1767-68; and then made peace, leaving him as powerful as ever, English forces in the Carnatic were dangerously weak and nothing was done to prepare for the storm which broke in 1780. In April of that year, Haidar Ali launched his forces into the plains and ravaged the country up to the walls of Madras. A force under Colonel Baillie was overwhelmed at Conjeeveram and the survivors horribly treated. Hastings at once sent every available man to Madras under the aged Eyre Coote, the victor of Wandewash. The situation was desperate. A French fleet was off the coast of Madras under Suffren, the only French admiral who ever showed himself a match for the British in fleet actions. Luckily Coote defeated Haidar Ali at Porto Novo, killing or wounding 10,000 of the enemy, and followed up his success at Pollilur and Sholinghur. Even the overwhelming of another British detachment under Colonel Braithwaite could not conceal from Haidar Ali that he had failed. Before his death in 1782 he said, "I have committed a great error. I shall pay dearly for my arrogance the defeat of many Braithwaites and Baillies will not destroy

them. I can ruin their resources by land but I cannot dry up sea." He was succeeded by his son Tippu, less able but even more ferocious. Peace was signed in 1784, Tippu surrendering most of his prisoners, including David Baird (whom Tippu had kept fettered for years to another officer).

Tiger of Mysore

The third Mysore War broke out in 1789. This time the Governor-General Lord Cornwallis (the same who had surrendered at Yorktown), came himself to take command, and found himself faced by immense difficulties. A British force in those days in India—and indeed for many years after—could not move without an immense train of transport and a vast horde of followers. Tippu therefore utilized his superiority in cavalry to sweep the countryside bare of provisions so as to starve the British out. In 1791 Cornwallis almost reached Seringapatam, Tippu's capital, and then had to retire with victory nearly in his grasp. In 1792 he tried again, aided by an army from Bombay. This time he was more successful, securing a cession of territory, a large and the release of all prisoners.

Though defeated Tippu was not yet crushed; he began to prepare for another war.

The fourth Mysore War began in 1799, Lord Wellesley being now Governor-General. The British commander was General Harris, a veteran of Bunkar Hill. Among his officers was Colonel Arthur Wellesley, brother of the Governor-General. The army advanced on Seringapatam in a vast square, covering an area of about twenty square miles. Inside, protected from Tippu's cavalry, were 1,20,000 transport bullocks and all the followers. A day's march was about five miles. On April 5th the vast mass reached Seringapatam. This time there was no mistake. By May 4th the breach was ready. Baird, who had much to repay, led the stormers. It was the day of reckoning. Order was at last restored by the heavy hand of Colonel Arthur Wellesley, and Mysore divided between the Company and a Raja from the original Hindu dynasty which Haidar Ali had dispossessed.

The Earlier Mahrattas Wars

If the Mysore Wars showed the Madras Government in an unfavourable light, the same equally applies to the dealings of the Bombay Government with the Mahrattas, who were an even greater problem. Tippu had at any rate a capital which could be stormed, but the capital of a Mahratta prince was the saddle of his steed. The Mahratta base was the whole Western India, and the fortresses of the Western Ghats, perched on inaccessible rocky pinnacles. Secure in these, they sallied forth with waves of horsemen over the length and breadth of India, plundering, laying and levying tribute as they rode. Even distant Calcutta feared them, the "Mahratta Ditch" bears witness. In form they were a loose confederacy, under the Peishwa of Poona, though he was in reality less powerful than his nominal subordinates after the crushing defeat at Panipat in 1761 at the

hands of the Afghans. The other Mahratta princes were Scindia of Gwalior, Holkar of Indore, the Bhonsla of Nagpur and the Gaikwar of Baroda. The early experiences of the Bombay Government with these rulers were distinctly unfortunate. A desultory war was waged with them between 1775 and 1782, during which, in spite of Colonel Keating's victory at Aras, the Bombay Government concluded the disgraceful Convention of Wargaon, which Hastings said "almost made me sink with shame as I read it." During this war the impression made on Mahadaji Scandia, the greatest of the Mahrattas, by the effectiveness of British-trained infantry, induced him to raise infantry under European leaders, mainly Frenchmen. Though in a sense this was to sacrifice the old Mahratta mobility, these troops were dangerous opponents. Soon Scindia had twenty-four battalions of regular infantry, and a strong train of artillery, which passed to his successor. Holkar followed suit. The Mahrattas were building up a formidable military power.

The Struggle with the Mahrattas

The Mahratta princes frequently fought amongst themselves in the intervals of war with the British. Underneath this confusion lay the fact that they neither could nor would live without fighting and plundering, and this, now that British had conquered Mysore and taken the Nizam of Hyderabad under their protection, was bound to lead to a decisive trial of strength. Luckily for the British the occasion brought forth two British commanders of exceptional ability—Wellesley and Lake.

Arthur Wellesley had been busy in the south suppressing a freebooter named Doondia Wao. While so engaged, he had worked out a system of transport far superior to anything the British in India had yet had. With the famous trotting-bullocks of Mysore now at his disposal there was no need of the snail-like crawl of Cornwallis, and with the pontoon-train he had established he could cross any river. Wellesley also showed his characteristic power of clear thinking by the time he selected for his advance. The traditional campaigning season in India had always been the "cold weather" (October to March), when the climate is excellent, the rainfall over and the rivers consequently low. But Wellesley realized that under these conditions he could never hope to overtake the extremely mobile Mahrattas, with their clouds of horsemen, for they would be over the rivers and away long before he could hope to come up with them. So he advanced instead during the "monsoon" (July to September) when the heavens are opened and the smallest stream a raging torrent. Even the Maharattas could not cross rivers under such conditions, whereas, with his pontoons, Wellesley knew that he could, even if with difficulty. In this way he could pin them down and force them to fight, thus using surprise to offset their superior numbers. Let the Maharattas ride as hard as they liked, he could catch them in the end. He first showed his mettle by an extraordinarily rapid march to Poona to rescue the Peishwa from the hands of Holkar, who thereupon retired northward to his own dominions. But

Scindia and the Bhonsla maintained a threatening attitude, resulting in war in August 1803. Only the sword could decide whether Britain or the Maharattas should dominate India.

Battle of Assaye, 1803

To the north-east were mustering the great armies of Scindia and the Bhonsla, and these were to met. Wellesley set out, acting in conjunction with a force under Colonel Stevenson which was some little distance off on account of the difficulty of supplies. On September 23, 1803, while Stevenson was still about eight miles away, Wellesley came in sight of the Maharatta army, encamped in angle between two rivers. But whereas Wellesley had with him but seven thousand men, British and Indian, the Mahrattas had united their forces and were fifty thousand strong. There were sixteen regular battalions, disciplined by foreign adventurers like Pohlmann and Depont; a hundred gun, served by excellent artillerymen; and a host of cavalry and irregulars. It was impossible to retreat: the only course open was to attack. The problem was how to do so without being outflanked and so overwhelmed. At this crisis Wellesley noticed two villages on opposite banks of the river close to the extremity of the peninsula between two streams in which the Mahrattas were encamped. Arguing that there must be a ford between them, Wellesley planned to use that ford to wedge himself into the angle of the peninsula in such a fashion that his flanks would be secure and the enemy unable to deploy their full strength. This he succeeded in doing, but the course of the battle did not go altogether as planned. The Mahrattas changed front very cleverly to meet him, and Wellesley with his far smaller forces found him self-committed to an attack in the teeth of their powerful artillery ranged on a front of less than a mile and stretching right across the peninsula. Through a blaze of fire, Wellesley's men broke clean through the line of guns, bayoneting the Mahratta gunners, who continued to serve their pieces till the last moment. The Mahratta horse charged again, only to find their masters in the small force of British cavalry, who fought magnificently. At last the Mahrattas had enough and drew off, leaving behind them all their guns and casualties, estimated as equal to Wellesley's entire strength. Wellesley had two horses shot under him and lost 1,566 officers and men killed and wounded, nearly a quarter of his entire force. He had fought and won his first and possibly his hardest battle. A truce was now arranged with Scindia, and Wellesley turned to deal with the Bhonsla of Nagpur, whose forces were completely crushed at the Battle of Argaon (November 29th).

Lake's Campaign in the North

While these victories were being won in the south, a campaign no less strong was being waged in the north. Here the command was in the hands of General Gerard Lake, a Guards officer who displayed an amazing talent for light cavalry warfare. He began by storming the fortress of Aligarh, surrounded by a moat deep enough to float a line-of-battleship;

and followed this up by winning the battle of Delhi (September 10, 1803). Here again the British infantry marched right up to the Mahratta guns, capturing nearly seventy of them. Lake was able to push home his victory more effectively, than Wellesley, having introduced "galloper-guns," the forerunners of the Horse Artillery. "I really do think," wrote Lake, "the business was one of the most gallant actions possible; such fire of cannon has seldom been seen, if ever, against which our men marched up within one hundred yards without taking a firelock from their shoulders, when they gave one volley, charged instantly, and drove the enemy. I do not think there could have been a more glorious day." On October 18th he captured Agra, described as the "Key of Hindustan." On November 1st the French trained battalions of Scindia were brought to bay at Laswari. The British, who had marched 65 miles in 48 hours immediately prior to the fight, charged up to the muzzles of seventy guns and drove the enemy clean off the battlefield. Lake reported: "I was never in so severe a business in my life, or anything like it, and pray God I never may be in such a situation again: their army is better appointed than ours, no expense spared whatever—these fellows fought like devils or rather like heroes."

Campaign against Holkar

These battles, severe as they had been, were at least against an opponent who stood to be fought. An even more dangerous enemy had next to be dealt with in Holkar, who relied on the traditional Mahratta tactics of fighting with cavalry only. Only extreme mobility and the longest marches could cope with such tactics; and Holkar was successful against a detachment under Colonel Monson, who lost nearly his entire force before taking refuge in Agra. Delhi was besieged and nearly taken before Lake could come to the rescue. Beating the Mahrattas at their own game, his cavalry rushed at the camp of Holkar at dawn on November 13, 1804, and sent him flying. Four days before a desperate battle had been fought at Deig, where Monson redeemed his previous failure by plucking victory from the jaws of defeat. The fortress of Deig was captured and on January 2nd Lake sat down before the fortress of Bhurtpore. On four separate occasions the British assaulted, and four times they were driven back. Three thousand men had fallen and Lake had to raise the siege. Peace was made, but Lake's career of victory had been checked. For twenty-one years longer the British had to stomach the taunt: "Go and take Bhurtpore !" However, Lake still kept Holkar on the run and ended by driving him for north into the Punjab. For the next few years the Mahrattas kept their powder dry.

Mastery of the Indian Ocean

Since the death of Tippu and the defeat of the Mahrattas the French had ceased to be a direct danger on the mainland of India, though individual French officer still continued in the service of Indian States; but they and their unwilling allies, the Dutch, still retained outlying possessions in the Indian Ocean which served as bases for the privateers,

which preyed on East Indiamen. In 1810 the Governor-General, Lord Minto, determined to make a clean sweep of these. In July an expedition captured the French island of Bourbon and in November a force of 6,000 British troops and 4,000 Indians were sent to capture Mauritius. This was successfully accomplished in December and a constant thorn in the side of the British removed. It was also a retort to Napoleon's "Berlin Decrees" and Eastern ambitions.

It was now the turn of the Dutch. Their minor settlements having been subjugated,[2] in April 1811 the Governor-General proceeded in person to Java with the most considerable expedition that had ever left India, military command being in the hands of Sir Samuel Auchmuty. The Dutch had a strong force in the island, including a number of Frenchmen, but on the arrival of the expedition at Batavia the city surrendered, the enemy preferring to make their stand inland. The Dutch military station of Weltwreden was captured at the beginning of August, and at the end of the month a daring assault carried the fortified "Lines of Cornelis." The enemy were 17,000 strong, Dutch, French and Japanese, but the whole force was destroyed or captured in the pursuit. The Dutch general, Janssens, capitulated, and the enemy flags vanished from the East. The administration of Java was entrusted to Stamford Raffles, whose methods the Dutch were wise enough to imitate when, at the Treaty of Paris, 1815, they received back their East Indian possessions. If Raffles had had his way the immensely valuable possession of Java would have been retained, but finding that the East India Company were resolved to relinquish it, he obtained the island of Singapore from the Sultan of Johore in 1819, thus establishing British control over Malaya instead.

The First and Last Fight with the Gurkhas

This was in many ways one of the most difficult campaigns the British ever had to wage in India. The Gurkhas, a warlike race whose only interest was fighting had gradually extended their sway over Nepal and the hill country to east and west of it, and were threatening the lowlands also. They relied for defence on stockades in the mountain passes, which they held with the utmost gallantry. Attempts to take these out of hand failed on several occasions in 1814 and 1815, until Sir David Ochterlony (known to the sepoys as "Loneyackty") advanced on the Gurkha capital of Kathmandu at the beginning of 1816 and forced them to sign a treaty of peace. By this the Gurkhas surrendered the territory they had overrun on condition that, with the exception of the British Resident at capital, they should be left absolutely alone. The treaty was since then strictly observed, and afterwards Nepal remained the least-known part of Asia. Gurkhas soon began to take service with the British. Both in the Mutiny and the Great War the Nepalese government rendered the most valuable assistance, but always on the same terms. They will aid in a crisis and provide recruits for the Gurkha Rifles, but those recruits always come to India; no British recruiting-officer may ever enter Nepal.

Pindari War, 1817-1819

It was no longer possible to ignore the atrocities committed by the Pindaris, horde of robbers recruited from the irregular followers and strugglers of the Mahratta armies routed by Wellesley and Lake. They numbered many thousands and were largely Mahratta followers though their numbers were swelled by all the riff-raff of the countryside. They operated in large bodies and were rapidly bringing India to a state of unrest and devastation. An Indian soldier, writing of that time, said: "Hindustan was at this time tormented by demons from the lowest hell. I cannot describe the horrors of those days may they never come again ! The very name of Pindari, or of Chitu, their chief; was accursed. Merchants trembled when they heard it; young women wept; no one felt safe, I have heard too of the frightful punishments the Pindaris inflicted, burning the eyes out with a heated spearblade, cutting the ears, nose and lips off, and other horrible mutilations." Large areas of Central India were completely devastated by their ravages. Though nominally acting on their own, they were secretly supported by the Mahratta chiefs, who gave them shelter and shared their plunder. A campaign against them would therefore lead inevitably to a final war with their Mahratta accomplices.

At last, in 1814, the Governor-General Lord Hastings, who, in his youth, as Lord Rawdon, had distinguished himself in the American War, decided to deal with this danger once and for all. To do so he mobilized an army of 120,000 men, of whom 13,000 were British. With this enormous force he systematically swept the countryside, driving the Pindaris before him and destroying their gangs. By 1817, the work was done, and the Pindaris completely broken up. Chitu was hunted into the jungle where he was suddenly killed by a tiger.

The Mahratta princes now came in the open. The first to do so was the Peishwa, who attacked and burnt the British Residency at Poona. On November 5th, 1817, his army of 26,000 was defeated by Colonel Burr, with about 2800 men at the battle of Kirkee. Next came the Bhonsla of Nagpur. A tiny force of 1,400 men under Captain Fitzgerald won the amazing victory of Sitabaldi where they defeated 18,000 Mahrattas in a fight lasting eighteen hours. As a result the Bhonsla was deposed, but his dynasty remained till just before the Mutiny. Then came the turn of Holkar. He was defeated at Mahidpur and compelled to submission.

Once more the Peishwa tried the fortune of war. His last army was beaten at Ashti on February 20th, 1818, and he became a fugitive. Perhaps the most wonderful example of heroism in these wars was that of Captain Staunton who, with 750 Indian troops and twenty-four British gunners, held Koregaon against 20,000 Mahrattas. He lost one-third of his men but gained the day.

At last the long struggle was over. The Peishwa's dominions were annexed, and he died in exile near Cawnpore. His adopted son, Dhandu Pant, inherited some of his estates, to end as the Nana Sahib of the Uprising. Holkar and Scindia were established with a fixed and definite

territory, as was the Gaikwar of Baroda, whose dynasty had never adopted an attitude hostile to the British. It is worth mention that these last three great Mahratta princes benefited greatly by having territory to rule instead of merely territory plunder. Their dynasties became much richer and this they repaid by subsequent loyalty.

The Kandyan War, 1818

In 1818 came a small campaign which completed the British occupation of the island of Ceylon. What the English had taken over from the Dutch by the Treaty of Paris was only the coastal plains; the interior had always been independent under the Kings of Kandy. Indeed their first attempts to assert authority there, owing to few and inferior troops and bad leading, had met with humiliating checks. Now a sufficient force was sent which, in spite of the difficulties of the climate and dense jungles, entered Kandy and established British power over the whole of Ceylon. The sacred throne of Kandy was carried off to England: it was late been restored to the Kandyans by the Duke of Gloucester, as the representative of the King-Emperor.

Burmese War, 1824-26

The next extension of British power was outside the boundaries of India proper. No Indian monarch had ever extended his sway over Burma, separated from India by dense jungles and rugged mountain ranges, to that day untraversed by either road or railway, and inhabited by a Mongolian people with no Indian characteristics. The Burmese, under a new dynasty, had become aggressive and, threading their way through the jungles, had appeared in the frontier districts of Assam, Cachar and Manipur. They now claimed possession of Eastern Bengal, and their attitude was such that war became inevitable. Hostilities began in February, 1824. It was obvious that the main expedition would have to go by sea to Rangoon, but here a difficulty occurred since the sepoys of the Bengal Army were unwilling to cross the "black water." Indeed the 47th Native Infantry mutinied at Barrackpore, outside Calcutta, sooner than go. The mutiny was quickly suppressed, but it was an ominous incident. Hence the Indian troops for the first Burmese expedition were furnished almost solely by Madras.

A force of 11,000 men under Sir Archibald Campbell took Rangoon easily enough in May 1824, only to find that this was no Indian expedition with supplies, transport and followers easily available. The centre of the Burmese power was far inland, at Ava on the Irrawaddi. Moreover, the Burmese had a system of war of their own, curiously like that of the Maoris, and based on the lavish use of stockades and constant "digging-in." The Burmese were the first enemies whom English had met who practised this art at the first encounter 30,000 men disappeared from sight in two hours. Luckily though far more numerous than the Maoris, they were far less resolute in holding these positions, and depended as an army entirely on the ferocity and resolution of one leader, Bundoola. A good deal of fighting

took place at Kemmendyne, outside Rangoon, in which Bundoola, who had previously scored a success over the British on the Arakan border, away to the west, showed himself a very resourceful commander. Finally, on April 1st, 1825, Bundoola was killed by a shell, and Burmese, who then retired 50 miles up-stream, never found another leader. This was as well, since owing to sickness the expeditionary force had only 1300 men fit for duty. Reinforcements then arrived and Campbell steadily pushed forward up the Irrawaddi to Prome, where he waited till the conclusion of the rainy season. The advance, when resumed, was very difficult. The country was all chick jungle and cholera was raging. By February 1826 the force arrived at Yandabo, within forty-five miles of Ava and 400 miles from Rangoon, when a final action was fought. The Burmese court thereupon capitulated, paid an indemnity, agreed to leave the eastern border of India alone, and ceded Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim. But the cost in lives to the British had been deplorable. There had been several minor disasters, particularly in ill-judged attempts to enter Burma through the impassable land frontier, and the losses from hardship, starvation and fever had been immense. The British regiments who originally landed at Rangoon had practically been wiped out. Altogether it was one of the most painful campaigns in which the Army in India has ever engaged, six out of every seven men engaged becoming casualties, mainly through sickness. Still, it was a success in the end, and the north-eastern frontier of India was now secure.

Siege of Bhurtpur, 1824-25

Ever since Lake had been repulsed from Bhurtpore in 1805, the fortress had been a standing challenge to British supremacy. It was believed that the British were afraid to attack it, and this belief was strengthened when, on a usurper seizing power in 1824, Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, recalled and censured Sir David Ochterlony, the hero of the Nepal War, for moving a force towards it. However, it was impossible to shirk the issue, and at the end of the year Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief and former leader (as Sir Stapleton Cotton) of the cavalry in Peninsular War, advanced from Ara on Bhurtpore with a powerful force, very strong in artillery. The ramparts were battered far more effectively than Lake had found possible and mines were driven under a projecting bastion. On January 18th, 1825, these exploded with tremendous effect; the stormers rushed forward and Bhurtpore, the supposedly impregnable, was taken. British casualties in the seige numbered 569. Bhurtpore was the first occasion on which Gurkha troops were in action with the Indian Army and they gained a battle-honour. The prestige gained was immense, and this was fortunate, for events were on their way which were to test British power in India very severely.

Pirates of the Persian Gulf

In 1835 the Arab pirates of the Persian Gulf again commenced to give trouble, and the Beni-Yas Arabs under Khalifa-bin-Shakboot equipped a

powerful fleet of baghalahs, some of which were of over 300 tons burden and despatched them with the avowed intention of attacking the Company's cruisers and overpowering them in detail. On receiving this information Commodore Elwon, I.N. Commanding the Indian Navy Squadron in the Persian Gulf, directed Captain Sawyer commanding the I.N. sloop of war 'Elphinstone" to cruise off Bassadore and endeavour to bring the Arabs into action. The "Elphinstone" sighted the enemy's squadron of 7 ships off Surdey Island on the morning of April 16th. And though well aware of the enormous odds against him and of the almost certainty of defeat should the enemy succeed in grappling and boarding his vessel, Captain Sawyer ordered the "Elphinstone" to be steered immediately between the two largest vessels. Reserving his fire until they were almost touching on either side he poured a broadside simultaneously into each ship. The effect at the close range was tremendous, the ship being completely riddled with shot, and the Arabs, entirely demoralised, fled as fast as sweeps and sails could take them. The following is Captain Sawyer's official report of the engagement:

"At daylight of the 16th of April, observed three buggalows. one batil, and three buggarahs to the N.W., standing S.W. turned the hands out, and made all possible sail to come up with them. Beat to action and prepared to engage. At seven o'clock fired the larboard bow gun, and hoisted our cqlours. Discovered the headmost buggalow to be completely crowded with men, and having in tow a large one. She fired a gun, hoisted a lag, and dropped it three times, apparently in contempt and defiance. The whole then closed, and formed, and we fired a shot that fell rather short. The leading buggalow immediately returned it, and the shot was seen to take the water about mid-way. The whole then struck their colours, and one of the buggarahs lowered his sail and pulled towards us. evidently with intention of attracting our attention. On minutely observing her, found she was full of men. There was now no doubt of this being the piratical fleet belonging to Abu Thubi, and the Arab pilot confidently assured us they were. On closing, he recognised the vessels, and declared the leading one to contain Sultan-bin Shakboot. On finding we were gaining, he cast off the tow, and they lowered their sales, and closed within pistol shot, with the other boats formed on their beam for battle. We immediately stood between them, having just room to do so without touching, having the Sheikh's buggalow on the starboard, and the tow on the larboard said. In passing between them we poured into each a broadside, round and grape, the guns nearly touching. The crew of the Sheikh's vessel cheered, crying "Allah Akbar al Kaffir." Some were seen in the act of throwing grapples into us, but were immediately shot. About ninety or a hundred men rushed towards the head, with their spears, which touched our quarters, for the purpose of boarding us, in which they failed, having met with a most destructive fire from small arms. There must have been at least two hundred men in this vessel, and they presented a most formidable phalanx with their towering spears. Very serious damage must have been sustained by these vessels, as

large splinters were seen flying in all directions. Immediately after passing about ninety men jumped overboard from the tow, and sail, were picked up by the Sheikhs' vessel, who hoisted her sail, and stood to the Northward, accompanied by one of the batils, which afterwards parted. Endeavoured to close with him, but he outsailed us. Shifted the bow gun to the bridleport, in the hope of being able to cripple him, but without effect, the shot falling short. The remainder of the boats hauled up for the abandoned buggalow, and stripped her of her said, and some other small articles, and then stood to the Southwest. At nine o'clock, observed the chase heaving overboard some articles which we could not make out. The wind decreasing, plied his sweeps, by which he gained. Lowered the two cutters, sent them ahead to tow, and got out the longest oars for sweeps, but without effect. We continued the chase unit after sunset, when we rounded the Eastern point of Polior, about five miles ahead of us. Having lost sight of her and night coming on deemed it advisable to give up the pursuit in the present direction, and hauled up to the Southward, in the expectation of meeting with her at day-light, which not doing, stood on for Abu Thubi, and about 8-0 a.m., of 17th discovered the abandoned buggalow, and stood for her; at 10 o'clock observed a raft with men waving lags, about five miles to the Eastward. Sent an officer to take possession of the buggalow, who found eight bodies on her deck, and committed them to the deep. Sent the pinnace to the raft, who found nine men on it, and brought them on board. On examining them they stated they were part of the crew of the buggalow we had taken possession of, called the "Nassis" belonging to Congoon. Had been forty days from Mangalore, when she was captured by the fleet we found her with, near Koong four or five days ago; the crew consisted of forty originally a few are supposed to have escaped, but the others and Nakhooda were put to death: That the mode of intended attack was to board us in passing between the two buggalows, in different points, and that they were confident of success. They boasted of having large vessels of oil boiling for the purpose of dipping us in when taken. They had no idea of the effect of a broadside from 32 pounders, and were completely paralysed; so much so that they forgot to fire themselves and immediately jumped overboard. Salim states that his party threw twenty-five bodies over-board and that the same number were taken away wounded. This makes thirty-three killed in this boat alone, and it is highly gratifying to me to find that none of the survivors originally belonging to the vessel were hurt by us. Two of them had been cut and stabbed by the pirates, and two others injured in the contest with them. They bandoned the buggalow about 4.0 p.m., preferring the peril of a raft to again falling into the hands of the pirates, whom they expected to return. The other buggalow must have suffered much more, and it is a matter of deep regret that we could not get up with her. Salim states that it was the intention of the pirates, after taking the "Nasses", to proceed to Ras-ool-had for the purpose of committing more depredations."

This action had the greatest effect in breaking up the Pirates of the Persian Gulf, they were thoroughly subdued and complied with all British

demands. For his service on this occasion Captain Sawyer received the thanks of the Government of Bombay, and a sword of honour from His Highness the Imaum of Muscat.

Afghan War, 1839-42

The close of the Napoleonic Wars had left Russia the principal military state of Europe. She had absorbed at last the greater part of Poland and her boundaries on the west now adjoined Prussia and Austria. No further accessions of territory could be expected there, and so henceforward she began to look more to the south and east. Her influence was strong in Persia and her envoy was received by Dost Mohammed, a strong and able soldier who had seized the throne of Kabul from the representative of the old dynasty, the Saddozais, Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk known to the British soldier in years to come as "Sugar-and-Milk". Visions of Russian armies decending on the plains of India began to haunt the nervous mind of Lord Auckland, now Governor-General. These fears were fantastic. The Russian frontier was still hundreds of miles distant from Afghanistan and Dost Mohammed was well able to look after himself. To plunge into the mountains beyond the Indus would be merely to divert on to English the fanaticism which, if undisturbed, would at any rate hinder the Russian advance, supposing it took place. None the less, this was the course into which Auckland was impelled by his enterprising young "political" officers, John Colvin, William Macnaghten and Alexander Burnes. If a grateful Shah Shuja could be reseated on the throne of his ancestors at Kabul by British aid, the gates of India would be safe.

Maharajpur and Paniar

In 1843 trouble broke out in the Mahratta State of Gwalior, which had been spared after the last Mahratta War. The Maharaja Scindia had died, and in a dispute about the succession all power had passed into the control of the army, which was 40,000 strong and thoroughly out of hand. Gough, now Commander-in-Chief in India, advanced with 20,000 men, whom he divided into two wings, one under himself and one under Sir John Grey. The two wings came separately into conflict with the Mahrattas on the same day, December 29th. Both Gough at Maharajpur and Grey at Paniar were victorious, but the former only after considerable loss in a mismanaged engagement, which did not augur well for his skill in the much more serious battles in which he was shortly to command. Gwalior was not annexed, but its army was reduced, though not sufficiently, as events in the Uprising were to show. Maharajpur is remarkable in that the Governor-General himself had accompanied the army, together with several ladies, and was sitting down to breakfast when he found the Mahratta cannon-balls uncomfortably near. Lord Ellen-borough left his mark on the Army in one way, however, by continuing the practice of the East India Company in giving medals to all ranks for a campaign. He gave medals for both the Afghan and Mahratta Wars to all combatants.

Challenge of the Khalsa

We now come to the most desperate series of battles that the British ever fought in India. In 1839, Ranjit Singh had died. His son followed him and his grandson was murdered. Another son, during these anarchical conditions—succeeded, but was soon murdered. There remained only a child of five years, Dalip Singh, whose mother, now became Rani of Lahore, the power behind the throne being two Dogra Hindus from Jammu, Dhian Singh and Ghulab Singh. Dhian Singh was murdered, and Ghulab Singh betook himself to Jammu, power passing to Lal Singh and Tej Singh. These ministers were no substitute for Ranjit Singh. The Sikh army, 60,000 strong, was completely out of hand. Unless Lal Singh and Tej Singh could find some means of distracting attention from themselves their days were numbered. Provocations also came from the British side; and the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej into British territory.

First Sikh War

The situation was dangerous. Not only were the Jat Sikhs, who formed the bulk of the Khalsa army, exceedingly stubborn fighters, but Ranjit Singh had succeeded in turning them into disciplined regular infantry, armed, trained and uniformed as a close copy of the Company's sepoys. This was achieved by employing French and Italian officers who had served under Napoleon. There was no question of sweeping such men away at the first shock, and the sepoys of Oudh, who lacked the fighting power of the men of Wellesley and Lake were definitely afraid of them. For this reason a disproportionate amount of the fighting and causalities fell on the British troops. The Sikhs had, moreover, a numerous artillery, comprising many heavy guns and served with the utmost determination. All that they lacked was resolution on the part of their commanders, which was not surprising in view of the risks those commanders ran from their own men, and it is probable that this mainly led to their defeat.

Mudki and Ferozeshah

The first fight took place at Mudki, on the British side of the Sutlej, on December 18th, 1845. Gough, who was accompanied by the Governor-General Sir Henry Hardinge, himself an old soldier and therefore inclined to interfere on occasion in military operations, attacked the Sikhs in a belt of jungle and succeeded in driving them back, though with heavy loss to his own men.[5] The Sikhs retired to a strong position at Ferozeshah, a short distance in the rear, where three days later, late in the afternoon, Gough again attacked them. The Sikh Artillery was more powerful than Gough's and fought with the utmost courage. The attack was delivered in the teeth of a tempest of "grape". An Indian officer who was present wrote: "This was fighting indeed; I had never seen anything like it before. Volleys of musketry were delivered by us at close quarters and returned as steadily by the enemy. In all former actions I had been in one or two volleys at close distance were all that the enemies of the Sirkar (Government) would ever

stand; but these Sikhs returned volley for volley, and never gave way until nearly decimated. They had their regiments placed between their guns and behind them; their fire was terrible, such as no sepoy had ever been under. The British guns were almost silenced and the ammunition waggons blown up. I saw two or three European regiments driven back by the weight of the artillery fire; it was like the 'rains' they fell into confusion; several sepoy regiments did the same. One European regiment was totally swept away; and I now thought the Sirkar's army would be overpowered, and fear filled the minds of many of us.

"When it was almost dark, a loud shout was heard, which did not sound like that of the Sikhs; a roaring noise of cavalry came next and the Third (Light) Dragoons rushed right through into the enemy's entrenchment and rode over and cut down their gunners. This charge was so sudden, and the cavalry charging right into batteries such an unheard-of thing, that for a few moments the Sikhs left their guns in perfect amazement.

"It now became quite dark, and the Sirkar's Army left off fighting, but the Sikhs continued firing wherever they saw a light. The force I was with as commanded by General Littler Sahib, and lost its way in the darkness. For fear of marching right into the Sikh camp, we were ordered to lie down. This night was nearly as bad as some of those in Kabul; we dare not light a fire for fear of enemy's round-shot, no water was to be procured, and we had nothing to eat but what few 'chuppaties' some men had put in their haversacks. The Sahibs said this was real fighting, and that the Sikhs were noble enemies: still they looked anxious, wondering what the morning would bring forth."

There was every reason for anxiety, for only the army of Lal Singh had been fought: the remainder of the Sikh forces, under Tej Singh, had been watching Littler, who had slipped away and joined Gough just before the battle. Tej Singh might soon be expected and Gough was in no case to fight another battle. However, with great determination he had advanced again in the early morning on the Sikh camp and captured it, together with seventy guns. No sooner was this accomplished than the army of Tej Singh was seen approaching. Gough, with hardly a charge left for guns and muskets, stood at bay, and after a period of suspense Tej Singh drew off. British supremacy in India had been within an ace of destruction.

Aliwal and Sobraon

The battle of Aliwal, fought on January 29th, 1846, was a smaller but much more skilfully managed affair. Sir Harry Smith, had been sent with a small force to cover the transport of Gough's siege-train, when he came into contact with a superior force of Sikhs near the village of Aliwal, on the banks of the Sutlej. Realizing that they had their backs to the river and could not easily retreat, Smith at once attacked. The Sikh resistance was broken down, the most notable incident being a most daring charge by the Sixteenth Lancers. It is characteristic of the spirit of the Sikh infantry that they did not merely stand to wait the Lancers' attack, but actually advanced

to meet them. But Smith's handling of his troops had been too skilful for the Sikhs, and they were driven across the river under the fire of the British guns, with heavy casualties and the loss of over fifty cannon. Aliwal was a badly-needed success of the right kind, for it showed that with proper management and skill the Sikhs could be thoroughly defeated.

The Sikhs now fell back on Sobraon, their last position on the British side of the Sutlej, again making the mistake of standing with the river immediately in their rear. On February 10, 1846, Gough attacked them with the main army. His siege-train had now come up, but not sufficient ammunition. The guns had soon to cease fire, but Gough attacked with the bayonet. The infantry burst through the Sikh entrenchments and were followed by the cavalry, the Third Light Dragoons again distinguishing themselves. The bridge of boats across the river was broken down, and the whole mass of the enemy driven pell-mell into the stream. Over eight thousand Sikhs perished and sixty-seven guns were taken. The challenge of the Khalsa had been met with success. British losses in these four battles were over nine thousand men, more than half falling on the few British units present, who had to do the bulk of the fighting. To quote again from the Indian Subadar: "The Khalsa fought as no man ever did in India before, but it was evident that their leaders knew not how to manage an army; when they have decided advantages in their hands they failed to make any use of them; their Cavalry never came near the battlefield that I ever heard of; and when I was at Lahore I heard many Sikhs loudly proclaim Sardar Tej Singh to be a traitor. . . . In a few days the British army marched on Lahore, and the whole Punjab was at the command of the mighty Company Bahadur (= 'brave' a title of respect) whose superior military skill and tactics none could withstand and whom it was useless to attempt to resist, without the risk of heavy loss.

The Punjab, a British Protectorate

Every effort was made, now that the challenge of the Khalsa had apparently been overcome, to avoid the formal annexation of the Punjab. A Council of Regency was set-up on behalf of the Maharaja Dalip Singh, comprising four Sikh chiefs and four British officials. Colonel Henry Lawrence was appointed as first Resident at Lahore, and was aided by men like John Nicholson and Herbert Edwardes. Everything looked hopeful, and Hardinge, now, together with Gough, a Peer, assured Lord Dalhousie, on handing over to him in January 1848, that it would not be necessary to fire a gun in India for seven years to come. But he was wrong. The pride and power of the Khalsa was not yet completely broken, and they were determined to fight again at the first favourable opportunity.

The Murders at Multan

Mulraj, the semi-independent governor of Multan, had been giving trouble, and in April 1848 a new Sikh governor was sent to take his place, accompanied by Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson. On April 18

these officers were attacked and wounded by Mulraj's men, and on April 20 were done to death. Mulraj now threw a challenge and the south-western corner of the Punjab was in revolt. Herbert Edwards, though a lieutenant, was in charge of the wild Pathans of the Derajet. beyond the Indus, who, although included in the Sikh dominions, had some feelings against Sikhs. He instigated the tribesmen to arms, twice defeated Mulraj, and shut him up in Multan. It was the hottest season of the year in the hottest part of India, and Gough was reluctant to send troops. At last, in September, a British force, together with a Sikh contingent, appeared before Multan. On September 14 these Sikhs went over to Mulraj, and the British had to fall back to the south to await help from Bombay. This was the signal. Everywhere the Sikhs sprang to arms, to fight and turn out the Britishers out of India.

Ramnagar, Chillianwala and Gujrat

Gough, marching from Lahore, fought Sher Singh, the Sikh commander, on October 22 at Ramnagar on the banks of the Chenab. Both sides lost heavily and the Sikhs fell back on Chillianwala, near the River Jhelum, to await reinforcements. Here, on January 13, 1849, Gough attacked them. The Sikhs position was in dense jungle and very strong. The preliminary cannonade was ineffective and the assault disjointed. The Sikhs suffered equally heavily as the British and lost several guns, but they also captured several guns and several colours. Then it came on to rain and further fighting was impossible. In the interval Multan was captured by the British, and the Sikh reinforcements came up, bringing with them various political officers who had fallen into their hands. One of these was sent with the Sikh proposals for terms. The terms were rejected and the Sikhs moved off to Gujrat, close to the banks of the Chenab. There, on February 21, 1849, came the final trial of strength. The Sikhs had 40,000 men and Gough 35,000 and also for the first time he had a more powerful artillery, including the long eighteen pounders which had been used to batter down Multan. There was no premature assault, and throughout the morning the British artillery steadily replied the fire of the Sikh guns. Then the British lines swept forward, and the Sikhs were driven into overwhelming flight. The pursuit was continued relentlessly; Rawal Pindi, Attock and even Peshawar falling into the hands of the British. The power of the Khalsa was broken at last, and the Sikhs everywhere laid down their arms. A witness of the surrender at Rawal Pindi relates: "One old fellow I noticed in particular: he stood for a long time looking wistfully at his arms and the pile before him, and evidently could not make up his mind to give them up. At last the officer on duty came up and touched him on the shoulder and ordered him to move on; he then threw down his sword and matchlock with a crash, and turned away, saying with tears in his eyes, 'All my work is undone now'." It is surprising to think that this was not altogether true of the bravest opponents British ever met in India, for it was these Sikh soldiers, previously in arms against them, who were one of their strongest supporters in the crisis.

The attempt to control the Punjab as a protectorate had failed, was given up, annexed, and with it the "Koh-i-Nur," (The mountain of light), which Shah Shuja had formerly possessed and which he had been to willingly surrender to Ranjit Singh. It was sent to England and is now set in the Imperial Crown. The Punjab was placed under a Board of Administration directed by Henry Lawrence, his brother John (famous in India as "John Larence") and Robert Montgomery. The long struggle by the British to gain India was at an end.

Supremacy but not Security

The whole of the coastline of India, from Karachi to Tenasserim, was now under British control, and there was no state in India able to resist them. But to achieve that conquest an immense Indian army, 200,000 strong had been called into being. What if that army, seeing but 40,000 British soldiers in the whole of India, were to deem itself the real master of the country? The British arms could, by their might, snatch unthinkable gains in a situation where Indian rulers fought among themselves, not rather than unitedly facing the foreign adventurers. The new rulers from England won battles with their 4 superior military strength, shrewd strategy, adventurous spirit and strong urge to become rich but were not aware of the undercurrent of strong feelings, resentment and anger of the Natives which ultimately errupted in the Great Uprising of 1857.

Notes and References

1. "Arcot" is the first battle honour awarded in India.
2. Amboyna and Banda were captured in 1810.
3. The Company's armies collected military booty misnamed Prize, from places which were the object of their attack, and it was over the distribution of such booty (often millions of rupees), that there were bitter controversies. It was in 1758 that the Court of Directors of the East India Company, under the authority conferred upon them by the Crown by the Charter of 14th January 1758 had notified their employees in India that "His Majesty had, by letters patent, granted to the Company, with certain exception, all plunder or booty taken by their troops by sea or land . . . and that the Court had consented to give up half of all such plunder to the troops, with the exception of cannon, ammunition and military stores." From 1810 to 1858 there were 18 occasions on which booty was captured and distributed:

Name of Campaign	*Date of Capture*	*Distribution authorised by*
Isle of France	1810	Madras Gen. Order 2-2-19
Java	1811	Royal Warrant 22-8-14
Deccan	1817, 1818	Bengal Gen. Order 28-3-22 and 15-5-29
Burma	1824, 1825, 1826	Bengal Gen. Order 19-12-36
Bhurtpore	1826	Bengal Gen. Order 16-2-29
Coorg	1834	Madras Gen. Order 19-8-36
Ghazni	1839	Bengal Gen. Order 17-3-48

Kalat	1839	Bengal Gen. Order 21-11-45
Sind	1843	Bengal General Order 31-12-47
Pegu	1852, 1853	Bengal Gen. Order 27-3-63
Persia	1856, 1857	Bengal Gen. Order 27-3-63
Delhi	1857	Bengal Gen. Order 13-12-61
Lucknow	1858	Bengal Gen. Order 31-12-61

4. According to Lieut.-Generals Sir Reginald Savory, Wellesey, Fredrick Roberts, Lord Kitchener, William Birdwood, Cassels, William Slim and Auchinleck were the famous Generals of the British Indian Army.
5. From *mount to mount* retreating backward still,
From tree to tree, and then from *hill to hill*,
They bore us in confusion till the night.
In darkness ended this disastrous fight,
And though two chiefs lay prostrate *in the vale*,
Sir H. John M'Caskill and *Sir Robert Sale*.
Unceasing slaughter thinned our fated bands,
And seventeen cannon fell into their hands.
The Victories of the Sutlej—A Prize Poem by Mr. Brooks of Trinity College, Dublin.

11

1857 Uprising and Early Mutinies

The growth of British power in India has perhaps no parallel in history. Arriving as traders, the Britishers slowly penetrated in the political arena. Under the name of the East India Company, they raised and trained Native armies, sided with some local chief or the other and established their own courts. Feeling strong enough, they struck coins in 1835 without the Indian Emperor's name and replaced Persian by English as the language of the court. Dalhousie's policy of annexation of one Indian state after the other, difference in pay, promotion, rations and living conditions of European and Native troops, native conviction that British occupation was due to end exactly one hundred years after the Battle of Plassey and the 'greased cartridges' were the main factors causing the 1857 Great Uprising, Earlier mutinies were caused by uneven distribution of Prize Money and Batta, replacement of Indian commanders by the Britishers and religion and caste questions. *(Ed.)*

A—EUROPEAN MUTINIES[1]

To those who think a mutiny of Europeans in India chimerical, we may notice that of a handful of men who seized the castle and island of Bombay in 1683, then British only possession, and kept it against the Company for two years, though still professing allegiance to the King; the mutiny of French troops, under D'Auteuil, in 1749, which changed Dupleix's triumph into terror and consternation, and nearly nipped in the bud the grand design of bringing all India under the rule of France; the mutiny of the European part of the Bengal Army under Clive, in the face of an enemy, in 1776; that of the Madras Army in 1776 (in which the Commander-in-Chief took part), which deposed and imprisoned Lord Pigott; the all but mutiny of Bengal officers in 1795-96 and that of a large portion of those at Madras against Sir G. Barlow in 1809. These were only partial mutinies, and in circumstances particularly unfavourable to the malcontents; yet in all of them a little less firmness or a little less moderation and concession on the part of the Company's Government, would have led to a contest that might have proved fatal to the British Indian empire.

In the famous mutiny of 1683 the Marine played a conspicuous part, the officers and crews of the "Revenge" and the "Hunter" both throwing in their lot with Captain Keigwin and the mutineers, and the crews of the Company's ships, which accompanied Mr. Child in the mission from Surat refusing to act against the mutineers. Captain Alderton of the "Hunter" was one of the four ringleaders, to whom a pardon was not granted under the Royal Commission of August 24, 1684. Against this regrettable instance may be set off the fact that the final surrender of the rebels and the Island of Bombay was obtained by Sir Robert Grantham, an officer of the Company's Marine, who afterwards took Captain Keigwin to England on board the "Charles II." Under the Royal Commission before mentioned Mr. (afterwards Sir John Child) was appointed by the King's patent Captain General and Admiral of the Company's sea and land forces between Cape Comorin and the Gulf of Persia, with Sir Thomas Grantham as Vice-Admiral, and the Senior Captain of the Company's ship as Rear Admiral, the three thus becoming the earliest official heads of the Indian Marine Service. In the following year (1684) Sir John Wyborne was appointed Vice-Admiral and Deputy Governor of Bombay; and in 1686 the seat of the Company's Government was transferred from Surat to Bombay, the Marine stores being located in the Castle, and the Company's ship being anchored in Bombay Harbour.

The formidable mutiny which was discovered in September 1766, among the officers of the whole European Army alluded to above, we shall notice more in detail. During Lord Clive's residence at Moorshedabad, "the alarming advices arrived that almost all the officers of the Army had combined, under articles of the most solemn agreement, to resign their commissions by a fixed day unless their batta was restored and the orders of the Company were abrogated.[2] To secure their measures without incurring the penalties of desertion, they fixed on a period when they had no pay in advance, and it was every moment expected that the British frontier would be invaded by a large body of Mahratta horse; flattering themselves that the necessity for their services at so critical a juncture must infallibly reduce the Board to submission." But they were mistaken was immediately recommended by Lord Clive to the Board, when he transmitted the advices, rather to put all to the risk than suffer the authority of the Council to be insulted. To preserve the authority of the President and Council, and crush an attempt that indicated the total sub-version of Government, became now the object; in which sentiments the whole Board with one voice concurred with Clive. He proceeded, accompanied by General Carnac, to Monghyr, where the first brigade lay in cantonment, and happily arrived at the instant when the whole body of Europeans was ripe for revolt. Their officers (the Lieutenant-Colonel, and two or three subalterns excepted) had to a man withdrawn themselves, and the soldiers, fired with the contagious spirit of mutiny, were on the point of following the example of their superiors, when Lord Clive's presence and authority awakened them to a sense of their duty.

The same violence of conduct prevailed amongst the officers of the 2nd and 3rd Brigades stationed at Allahahad and Patna, insomuch that "Colonel Smith, who was posted on the frontier of Korah, remote from all assistance, and in the very face of a formidable enemy, was totally deserted by his officers in those lines he had drawn to oppose the irruption of the Mahrattas." Mr. Long in his "Selections," from which we have taken the above, does not give us the sequel to this alarming mutiny.

A mutiny of a serious nature seems to have occurred in the regiment of European Artillery stationed at the Mount, Madras, on the 15th and 16th January, 1798. We have failed in procuring any details of it, but have only an account of the execution of the ringleaders in mutiny, which took place at the Mount on the 15th March, which was after all the parties concerned had been tried by court-martial. The prisoners, Clarke, Stumbles, Banks, Forster Lawrence and Connor were sentenced to death; the first three to be hanged in chains. Froster to be blown away from a gun, and Lawrence and Connor to be shot. When the first four had been disposed of, and the execution party were prepared to carry out the sentence on the two remaining prisoners, Lawrence and Connor who had been viewing the fate of the others, Major-General Brathwaite went up to them and announced the Commander-in-Chief's pardon. Lawrence fell senseless on the ground, Connor, after a moment's pause, dropped on his knees, and offered up thanks in loud and serious manner. In an order dated Choultry Plain, 15th March, the Commander-in-Chief dwelt upon the destructive consequence of an offence which is most flagitious that can brand the character of a soldier. He ordered that the two pardoned men should be struck off the rolls of the Artillery, and sent out of the country.

B—NATIVE MUTINIES

Casual readers of the military history of India often fancy that the Uprising of 1857 was unprecedented. That it was so in magnitude is happily true but other insurrections, refusals to obey legitimate authority; and attempts to subvert the power of the military commanders, had happened at various times and in various parts of both the Madras and the Bengal presidencies.

One of the regiments of the Royal service employed in India at this time (1763) was the 89th Foot. Its time being up, it was about to proceed to England when news reached Bombay, where it was stationed, that Major Adams had died, that the forces of the Great Mughal were invading Behar, and that the Council of Fort William needed the services of Major Hector Munro, with all the troops that could be spared. Munro immediately hastened round to Calcutta, assumed the post of Commander-in-Chief, and proceeded to take the field.

On the 3rd August, 1764 a scheme was discovered for a rising of the sepoy troops at Patna and Monghyr; this was carried into effect on the 7th and 8th, a large number of the men taking their officers prisoners and

walking off with their arms. The cause of the disaffection was that they had not received the same amount of prize money which had been accorded to other battalions. After much difficulty the men were brought back to their allegiance.

This epoch is one of so much interest in the history of the Bengal Army, and it at the same time offers so many more proofs of the mutinous disposition upon which Captain Turner Macan and Sir Edward Paget commented before the House of Commons, that we must take from Captain Broome's book the following quotation:

"The two battalions stationed at Moneach, were for a short time in a state of actual mutiny, but were speedily brought back to a sense or their duty by the influence of their officers: several other outbreaks occurred at the other stations, but none sufficiently marked or tangible to enable Major Munro to make such an example of them as he desired. At length on the 8th of September, a mutiny of a more serious nature occurred in the 9th, or Captain Galliez's battalion, the oldest corps in the service, then stationed at Manjee. Instigated by some of their native officers, they assembled on parade, and declared their intention of serving no longer, as the promises made to them had been broken; they however retained their arms and accoutrements, and imprisoned Captain Ahmuty and the other European officers and serjeants of the battalion; but they do not appear to have offered them any insult or other annoyance; and on the following day they released the whole, and permitted them to proceed to Chuprah, the nearest station.

"On the arrival of the officers at Chuprah, an express was immediately sent off to Major Munro; and Captain Wemyss, who was in command at the station, marched at once to Manjee, with the Marines and the 6th, or Captain Trevannion's battalion, the latter officer expressing his full reliance on the fidelity of his men. After two days of a fatiguing march, the whole country being under water, this detachment reached Manjee at daybreak on the morning of the 11th. Here they found the mutineers bivouacked in a mangoe tope, which owing to the heavy rains that had fallen, was completely surrounded by water. Captain Wemyss drew of his detachment facing them, and the mutineers being taken by surprise, and probably without any recognised leader, lost their self-possession, and after a short parley, agreed to surrender. Rafts were immediately constructed, and the whole battalion were made prisoner, deprived of their arms, and marched to Chuprah, where they arrived on the morning of the 13th.

"Major Munro, who, on receiving intelligence of this mutiny, had immediately hastened from Mankipore to Chuprah, taking with him the Grenadiers of the European battalion, was awaiting their approach. Having received a communication from Captain Wemyss, stating when he expected to arrive, and the 15th or Captain Stabel's battalion, drawn up ready to receive them. He immediately ordered Captain Ahmuty to pick out 50 of the ring-leaders, and from these he again selected 24, whom he ordered to be tried at once by a drum head court-martial, composed of native officers of Captains' Trevannion's and Stabel's battalions. He addressed the members

of this court-martial, explaining to them the heinous nature of the offence committed, and the consequence of such conduct, as regarded the whole service. The result of their decision is to be found in the following General Order of the 13th September, 1764: "At a general court-martial held at the cantonments near Chuprah, on twenty-four sepoys of Captain Galliez's battalion of sepoys, confined for being taken in actual mutiny and desertion, the court having duly weighed the crime alleged against them, found them guilty of the first and third articles of the second and fifth sections of the Articles of War: and therefore, sentenced them to be put to death, by being blown away from the guns, which sentence is approved by the Commander-in-Chief, and is to be put in execution accordingly."

"Major Munro, on receiving the verdict of the court, immediately ordered four of the prisoners to be tied to the four 6-pounders, when four grenadiers of the party immediately stepped forward, and represented that as they had always occupied the post of honour in the field, they claimed the usual priority and right of place on this occasion. The Major complied with their request, the battalion men were untied and the gallant but misguided grenadine occupied their places; at a signal from the Commander they were launched into eternity, and the fragments of their bodies scattered over the plain.

"A thrill of horror ran through all ranks; a murmur arose amongst the whole of the Sipahis, and Captain Williams who was present, states that there was not a dry eye amongst the Europeans, although they had long been accustomed to hard service and fearful spectacles; and amongst the Marines were two men who had actually been on the firing party at the execution of Admiral Byng, in the year 1757. The officers commanding the Sipahi battalions then came forward and represented that their men would not allow the execution to proceed any further; but Major Munro, a man of remarkably humane and considerate disposition, which qualities he evinced throughout the campaign, felt that he had a high and sacred duty to perform, on which the well-being of the whole army and the very Government depended, stiffling his own feelings, he determined to proceed in his duty at all hazards; he directed the officers of the Artillery to load the guns with grape, and drawing up the Marines on one side and the European Grenadiers on the other, he dismissed the officers to the heads of their battalions, and then gave the order for the whole of the Sipahis to ground their arms, at the same time directing the Europeans and Artillery to fire upon any who refused to obey. This display of resolution and firmness had its due effect; the battalions instinctively obeyed the word of command, and the Major moving them a short distance from their arms, placed the Europeans and guns in the interval, and then ordered the execution to proceed, when 16 more of the party were, in like manner, blown away: the whole of them marching boldly up to the instrument of their execution and awaiting the final signal with firm and unmoved countenance. The remaining four were sent to Moneach, and there executed in a similar manner in the presence of two battalions that had recently

evinced a mutinous disposition; and on the return of the Major to Bankipore on the 15th, he caused six Sipahis of other corps, who had also been convicted of mutiny, to be blown away from the guns at that station, in the presence of the assembled troops. The wholesome and well-timed display of resolution and severity effectually and completely suppressed the spirit of insubordination that had been so long existing in the native army."

Every recruit on enlisting into a native regiment is required to take an oath that he "will never forsake nor abandon his colors," and that he "will march wherever he is ordered, whether within or beyond the Company's territories." It had been the practice of Government to consider this oath, when not otherwise explained at the time of enlistment, as not in itself binding the soldier to proceed on service beyond sea, and, therefore, whenever regiments had been raised for service beyond sea, no man had been drafted or enlisted into them but at his own consent, and with a full and clear understanding of his engagement to serve beyond sea when required to do so.

An expedition on foreign service having been determined on, in 1795, a battalion of Native Infantry was thought sufficient for the service. On this determination being made known, the 15th Battalion Native Infantry immediately volunteered its services to proceed to any part of India. The high sense entertained by the government for this evidence of their zeal and good feeling was publicly made known both to officers and men. But this was only preliminary to an open revolt of the battalion, which was thereupon disbanded. For many days after, they were in a state of actual mutiny and when required by Colonel Erskine to lay down their arms, fired on the 29th Battalion. The revolt was subdued by Captain L. Grant.

T.A. Bhai Writes:

In November 1805 an order was issued introducing a new type of turban, resembling hats worn by Eurasian drummers, for the native troops. Another order published in 1806 by the Company laid down that "a native soldier shall not mark his face to denote his caste or wear ear-rings when dressed in his uniform, be clean shaven on the chin and preserve a uniform quantity and shape of the hair on the upper lip." Vellore in those days was a big military station quartering several battalions. In the massive fortress, interned were the members of Tipu Sultan's family after his defeat and death at Seringapatam six years earlier. When these orders reached Vellore, the Indian guards and sepoys objected strongly.

On July 11, 1806 at about two in the morning the sepoys of the main guard stationed near the fort suddenly attacked the British troops and killed all but four who managed to escape. At about the same time an attack was made on all Europeans, present in Vellore. The British flag was pulled down and the Mysore flag was hoisted over the fort. Indians attacked with muskets, spears, swords and two six-pounders, most of which they had captured from the magazine, killing hundreds of Europeans. For about 40 hours, the Indians were again the rulers of the land from which they had been dispossessed.

Badly beaten and humiliated the Company's European forces were re-grouped at Seringapatam and were reinforced by many parties of crack troopers and guns. It was planned to make a surprise assault on the Vellore fort in the early hour of morning. Colonel Gillespie led the attack. Although surprised, the Indian armed men in the fort fought valiantly and inflicted heavy losses on the Company's forces. Some one in the fort turned hostile as a rope was lowered from the ramparts of the fort which hauled up Col. Gillespie and his party over the ramparts. Col. Gillespie headed a bayonet charge to clear the way for opening a gate. The European cavalry charged into the fort and Other troops also rushed in. A bloody battle ensued but the Indians were overwhelmed by a large number of guns and men and a general massacre followed. Those who escaped through the sally port were cut down outside. Hundreds of Indian men, women and children were killed.

Colonel Gillespie, chiefly responsible for all the killings at Vellore, was in 1814 shot through the heart during the Nepal War, when attacking the fort of Kalinga at Dehradun and was buried at Meerut. As if in retaliation and a spirit of revenge, the Great Uprising of 1857 started in Meerut within a mile of the grave of Colonel Gillespie who at Vellore, 51 years earlier, had mercilessly killed hundreds of Indians."

In 1825, three native regiments, stationed at Barrackpore, near Calcutta, were under orders for the Burmese war. With a caste prejudice against the sea, the sepoys demurred and refused to embark. The 47th Native Infantry became openly mutinous. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir E. Paget, marched two European regiments and some artillery to the station during the night; paraded the 47th, the next morning, and ordered them to lay down their arms. They disobeyed. The guns opened on them and they broke and fled. It did not appear that the sepoys had contemplated active resistance, for though in possession of ball cartridge, hardly any had loaded their muskets. Sri E. Paget was much blamed for resorting at once to the extrement measure; but the events of 1857, which began at the same station of Barrackpore, threw a truer light on the gravity of the crime of military mutiny.

In 1822, the 6th Madras Cavalry mutinied at Arcot; in 1844, the 34th Bengal Infantry at Ferozepore refused to march to Scinde, and the 64th Bengal Infantry mutinied at Umballa, unless their pay and allowances were increased. In 1845, the 6th Madras Native Cavalry mutinied at Jubbulpore, and the 47th Madras Native Infantry mutinied when ordered to Scinde. In 1849-50 several regiments of Bengal native infantry stationed in the Punjab either broke into open rebellion or were prepared to do so.

C—FUGLEMAN OF THE GREAT UPRISING[3]

In 1857, Barrackpore near Calcutta was a big military cantonment having four regiments of native infantry assembled in a brigade. Since early that year great resentment was prevailing amongst the Indian troops for

being forced to use cartridges for the newly introduced Enfield rifle, which were greased with a substance known to contain the fat of cows and pigs.

The cartridges and the grease supplied to the troops at Barrackpore and in other stations in the Bengal Presidency were prepared in the Arsenal at Fort William, Calcutta. When Colonel A. Abbott, Inspector General of Ordnance and Magazines, came to know the objections, he wrote on 29th January, "I enquired the Arsenal as to the nature of the composition that had been used and found it was precisely that which the instructions received from the Court of Directors (England) directed to be used viz., mixture of tallow and bees wax. He suggested the use of wax and oil as a substitute to the tallow till the grease of unobjectionable quality was substituted. Consequently powers were conferred on the Commander, Depot of Musketry at Dum Dum and Commanding Officers of other units to purchase *Ghee*, wax, oil and other prescribed ingredients from the bazar instead of obtaining grease from the Ordnance sources. But then it was found that the objection was not merely to the composition used in greasing the cartridges, but to the composition of the paper also with which the cartridges for the new rifles were made up.

The Regulation existing at that time for loading the firelock or rifle musket by the sepoys, stated:

> "1st—Bring the cartridge to the mouth, holding it between the fore-finger and thumb with the ball in the hand, and bite off the top, elbow close to the body."

The apprehension of the Indian troops about the composition of the grease which they were required to apply to the cartridges and the wax paper which every sepoy, while loading his rifle, was to bite it off, originated by the remarks of an Ordnance *Khalasi* employed in the Calcutta Arsenal. The *Khalasi* asked a Brahmin Sepoy for some water from his *lota* but the latter refused to give the water due to reasons of caste. Thereupon the *Khalasi* said, "You will soon loose your caste, as ere long you will have to bite cartridges covered with the fat of pigs and cows." The remarks spread like a wild fire amongst the Indian troops everywhere. Describing the situation and feelings of the Native soldiers at Barrackpore, Major General J.B. Hearsey Commanding the Bengal Presidency Division in his report dated 11th Feb., 1857 to the Government of India said:

> "We have at Barrackpore been dwelling upon a mine ready for explosion. I have been watching the feelings of the sepoys here for some time; their minds have been misled by some designing scoundrels who have managed to make them believe that their religious prejudices, their caste, is to be interfered with by the Government. That they are to be forced to turn Christians."

Giving his version of the origin of the trouble, Maj. Gen. Hearsey

wrote, "A sepoy from one of the regiments here (Dum Dum) was walking to his *choka* to prepare his food with his *lota* full of water. He was met by a low-caste *Khalasi* (it is said one of the magazine or arsenal men). This *Khalasi* asked him to let him drink from the *lota*. The sepoy, a Brahmin, refused, saying—"I have scoured my Iota; you will defile it by your touch." The *Khalasi* rejoined—"You think much of your caste but wait a little, the *Saheblogue* will make you bite cartridges soaked in *cow* and *pork* fat, and then where will your caste be?" General Hearsey added, "The sepoy made this speech known amongst his comrades at Dum Dum; the report was not long in travelling to this (Barrackpore) and other stations."

The repercussions to the belief in the minds of the Native troops that their religion and caste were being interfered with, were serious. Several European Officers' thatched houses and the telegraph bungalow at Barrackpore were burnt by incendiaries. On the night of 5th Feb., 1857 a secret meeting was held after the eight o'clock roll call at the parade ground where about three hundred native sepoys of different regiments who had their heads tied up with clothes leaving only a small part of the face exposed, assembled. There the question of killing the Europeans and plundering the Cantonment was discussed. But the information leaked out through a native officer (Jemadar) who was present at the meeting. Emissaries were then sent out from Barrackpore to Berhampore where on 26th Feb. night, Indian sepoys of various regiments stationed there gathered in a deserted tank and took oath to protect their religion and caste even at the cost of their lives. Consequently in spite of strict orders, the native sepoys totally refused to accept cartridges having a composition of cow and pig fat.

But what happened at Barrackpore on Sunday, the 29th March, 1857 was the first violent manifestation of the deep dissatisfaction. So far it was confined to presenting applications or meeting in deputations but on that day at three o'clock afternoon a young sepoy named Mangal Panday of 34th Native Infantry Regiment suddenly appeared before the Quarter Guard armed with his musket which he took out for cleaning from bells-of-arms and a sword and ordered the bugler to sound the bugle for calling the sepoys to assemble. He declared in a loud and firm voice his intention to die for his religion and said that he would kill any European he would come across. He exhorted his fellow sepoys to join him in this religious war against the foreigners, saying "Nikal ao, pultun; nikal ao hamara sath." Great excitement prevailed in the camp and some shouts were raised against the use of the obnoxious grease and the cartridges. Soon after the British sergeant major arrived on the scene and wanted to apprehend Mangal Panday but no native sepoy would come forward to help him. Mangal Panday dressed regimentally but with his *dhotee* took an aim and fired on the sergeant but missed. Thereupon the sergeant ran for his safety and took shelter behind the Quarter Guard. Meanwhile Lt. Baugh, adjutant, came riding up to the front. Mangal Panday presented his piece and fired, wounding the horse which fell. At this moment a sepoy Sheikh Paltoo came forward and helped Lt. Baugh to get clear of his horse. The adjutant then

pulled out a pistol from his holster and saying—"That man will kill me, he is loading again" rushed towards Mangal Panday. The sergeant-major and Sheikh Paltoo followed him. He fired at Mangal Panday but missed him. On that Mangal Panday drew his sword and attacked the adjutant. A sharp hand to hand conflict ensued in which Mangal Panday faced two assailants, the adjutant and the sergeant major. He fought desperately and wounded them both severely. Both the Europeans fell on the ground and another blow from the sword of Mangal Panday might have despatched them if Sheikh Paltoo, himself injured, had not seized him round the waist with his left hand and averted further attacks. Seeing this, Jamadar Iswaree Panday, the Guard Commander and his men abused Sheikh Paltoo and said that if he did not let Mangal Panday go, they would shoot him. Both the wounded Europeans then slowly stood up and retreated quietly, several men of the quarter guard following and beating them with the buttend of their muskets.

Soon after Lt. Col. Wheler, Commanding the 34th Regiment arrived on the spot and ordered the Guard Commander to capture Mangal Panday alive or dead. But the man would not advance. Then Brigadier Grant, Commanding at Barrackpore arrived followed by Major General Hearsey, Commanding the Bengal Presidency Division, and his two sons, both Army Captains at that time. Mangal Panday after freeing himself from the hold of Sheikh Paltoo, reloaded his musket and stood there with musket in one hand and sword in the other, determined to challenge for protection of his religion. He called upon his fellow sepoys to join him in this holy war. Reinforced by the presence of several European officers, General Hearsey ordered the guard men to load their rifles and advance towards Mangal Panday, saying that he himself would shoot with his pistol anybody disobeying the order. All the European Officers and the guard sepoys then moved towards Mangal Panday who instantly changed his mind and instead of firing on the advancing column which included his Indian colleagues also, shot himself through the chest and collapsed with his sword under him. The resultant wound although serious did not kill him.

He was immediately removed to the Quarter Guard of Her Majesty 53rd Regiment where he was subjected to close questioning in order to find out his accomplices and organised plot if any to drive out the Britishers from India. On the 4th April, to a question by Major W.A. Cooke, Field Officer of the Week, Mangal Panday replied, "I acted on my own free will. I expected to die." He was asked frequently if he would give up the names of any connected with the occurrence, but he refused. Dr. T.B. Reid, Asst. Surgeon, 53rd Regiment under whose charge he was, treated him sympathetically. The Doctor admired his courage, patriotism and forbearance and tried to help him on the day of his court martial. When asked to render the fitness certificate on 6th April, Dr. Reid wrote: "Sepoy Mangal Panday has not improved his health since he came under my charge; he has been gradually becoming weaker, and is now much debilitated. The wound also presents an unhealthy appearance." But

immediately after that another Doctor James Allen, Asst. Surgeon 34th Regiment, Native Infantry certified that "Mangal Panday sepoy, No. 1446, 5th Company, 34th Regiment, Native Infantry, is in a fit state to undergo his trial this day."

On the same day he was brought before a standing Native Court Martial presided over by Subedar-Major Jawahar Lal Tiwari and with fourteen native officers as members, for trial on two charges of Mutiny and Violence against his superior officers. Five witnesses including Lt. Col. Wheler who acted as the Prosecutor also and Sheikh Paltoo the only Indian witness, gave evidence. Mangal Panday, declined to cross-examine the prosecution witnesses. When called on for his defence he was reported to have said, "I did not know who I wounded and who I did not," and added "I have no evidence." The trial lasted for only one day and on the same day, i.e. 6th April, 1857, the court found Mangal Panday guilty of both charges and after examining his record of service which showed him good in all respects during his military service of seven years, two months and nine days, sentenced him `to suffer death by being hanged by the neck until he be dead.' The death sentence (eleven officers voted for it) was approved and confirmed by Maj. Gen. Hearsey on 7th April and the execution was fixed on the next morning at half-past five o'clock on the brigade parade ground in presence of all the troops off duty at the station.

In the dark cell of the 53rd European Regiment Quarter-Guard lay on the ground Mangal Panday, a young sepoy of twenty six years, weak in bodily strength but strong in spirit.

At that time suddenly a storm started blowing. It soon grew into a tempest which uprooted trees, thatched roofs and tents and caused much damage to the buildings. It was accompanied by a violent outbreak of thunder and lightning. Confirming the outbreak of this sudden and unprecedented tempest on the evening of 7th April, 1857. Maj. Gen. Hearsey wrote in a letter, "The 84th Queen's arrived at Barrackpore from Chinsurah at 6 p.m. on 7th evening during a most violent storm. I kept them on board the steamers and when the storm had passed over at past midnight, the corps was moved upto camp."

Early morning on 8th April, 1857, all the men of the Native brigade and all other European and Native troops stationed at Barrackpore were drawn up on parade. Sepoy Mangal Panday was marched under heavy escort to the gallows. After the execution the columns of the Native infantry were advanced close to the gallows to have close look at a man whom the British rulers condemned to death for being a mutineer but who, for his countrymen, became the pioneer of the 1857 Great Uprising. The first blood had been shed.

D—THE 1857 UPRISING[4]

We will give here a rough sketch of the uprising of the Bengal Army. We cannot enter into a full discussion of the causes of the uprising—the

subject would require a volume to itself—we will therefore merely state some of the circumstances to which it may be said to have been more immediately attributed.

The sepoy, by the injudicious acts of successive Governors General and Commanders-in-Chief, had been taught to think too highly of himself—to believe that he was the chief pillar of the State—the mainstay of British power in India. The bonds of discipline were too much relaxed and finding the government had taken all power into their own hands, the sepoy cared nothing for his officer, upon whom his welfare no longer depended, and became from various cases discontented and then disaffected. This feeling was fostered by the ex-King of Oude and his minister, the subtle and crafty Ali Nukee Khan. The sepoys, highly credulous: like many natives of India, and ready to believe any of the most monstrous tales, had their attention drawn to the various ways in which we had interfered with their religious practices the stoppage of infanticide; the prohibition of suttee; the prevention of self-immolation under the care of Juggunnath; the proselytising efforts of our missionaries, and the gradual spread of English civilization; and the sepoys became alarmed. The Brahmins, of whom there were great numbers in our ranks, found their influence decreasing from year to year, and their alarm and discontent worked on the minds of the rest. Then Lord Dalhousie made every sepoy pay postage for his letters, which had hitherto gone free under his commanding officer's signature. The roads and ferries were no longer free to him as before, except when travelling on duty. He had to pay toll like other people. These taxes were not only particularly galling to the pride of all, but irritating and burdensome to the bulk of the men, whose pay was only seven rupees a month, out of which they had to feed and clothe themselves, in 1852, when the 38th Native Infantry refused to go to Burmah, Lord Dalhousie left them unpunished, and showed the native soldiers very clearly what power was in their hands, and how safely they might defy the Government.

With all this material for revolt ready laid, there wanted but the spark to light the flame. This was supplied by the unpardonable carelessness of an official in Calcutta. The government had decided on introducing the Enfield rifle into the Indian army. The cartridge for this rifle required a lubricating substance which in England is made from the fat of the cow and pig's lard and by the official before mentioned it was ordered that lubricating substance for use in India by the native troops should be similar that (to speak plainly) the Hindoo sepoy should handle cartridges besmeared with the fat of the cow, an animal which he regarded with superior veneration. This became known to one of the guards in the arsenal in Fort William, who told his comrades. The men were horrified; the fact was repeated with every addition that the brains of bigoted men could invent, and as the Government delayed to take any measures to quiet the minds of the sepoys, it is no wonder that they came thoroughly to believe the statements which had been allowed to circulate among them, the effects of which were apparent in the course of a few days.

On the 24th January, 1857 the telegraph office at Barrackpore was burned down, the first act of insubordination; that day month a small guard of the 34th Native Infantry arrived at Berhampore, and communicated to the 19th Native Infantry stationed there the facts and fictions connected with the affair of the greased cartridge. On the 25th February Colonel Mitchell ordered a parade for exercise next day with blank cartridge; the men refused to receive the cartridges, and during the night rose and seized their arms shouting defiance. Colonel Mitchell marched against them with the Native artillery and cavalry; but as these could not be depended on, he compromised matters with the mutineers. The news of this outbreak reached Calcutta on the 4th of March, and caused the greatest excitement in the 2nd and 34th Native Infantry at Barrackpore, and nightly meetings of the sepoys took place, at which the conduct of the 19th Native Infantry was highly applauded. H.M's 84th were sent for from Rangoon, which arrived on the 20th, on the 29th one of the 34th Native Infantry, Mangal Panday loaded his rifle and passed through the lines calling upon his comrades to rise. Lieut. Baugh, the Adjutant, galloped off to the parade, when Mangal Panday fired at him, wounding his horse and bringing him to the ground. The Lieutenant fired at the man but missing him was cut down. The Sergeant-Major attempted to seize the mutineer and called on the sepoys of the quarter guard to help. But the native officer forbade his men to stir, and the Sergeant-Major was also cut down. The mutineer was afterwards secured and lodged in the quarter guard of the 17th Native Infantry. On the 31st March the 19th Native Infantry were disbanded. With rage in their hearts they proceeded towards their homes, spreading disaffection and proclaiming treason everywhere. On the 4th May the 34th Native Infantry were also disbanded.

At Meerut, reports had been spread amongst the troops that the Government had plotted to take away their caste, by mixing the ground bones of bullocks with the flour sold in the market, in order that the Hindoo, in using it for food, might lose his caste, and thus find himself compelled to embrace Christianity.

The ill-timed clemency shown to the 19th and 34th regiments convinced the Meerut troops that they had nothing to fear, and they showed their disaffection by burning the bungalows of their officers. On the 5th May this disaffection was more openly shown by eighty-five men of the 3rd Light Cavalry refusing to receive the cartridges served out to them on parade. They were brought to trial, and on the 9th condemned to imprisonment. The native soldiers were furious, and a plan was concerted for surprising the European troops when their officers were at church. It was well imagined, but the impatience of the sepoys marred it all. They could not wait, and before the appointed time, (the 11th) a large portion of the 3rd Cavalry turned out, and liberated not only their comrades, but all the prisoners confined in the jail, some fifteen hundred. In the meantime the 20th and 11th Native Infantry turned out, fired the lines and the bungalows and buildings near them, murdering their officers and every European that

they could find, the smoke of the burning bungalows, the yells of the sepoys, and the people from the bazars and the jail, and the volleys of musketry fired, announced to India that the native army had fairly revolted. The turnout of the European troops was delayed most unaccountably, and ere dusk the great bulk of the mutineers had got off to Delhi unpursued. On arrival there they were joined by the native troops, a massacre of many Europeans there took place, the King and his sons sanctioning and sharing in the killing.[5] Immediately the news of the revolt of the sepoys reached the Commander-in-Chief, he ordered all the European troops within reach to assemble at Umballa preparatory to marching on Delhi.

We will not give a narrative of the happenings which occurred at Cawnpore, Futtyghur, Lucknow and almost every station in the North-West, nor will we describe the progress of Lucknow. These are matters of common knowledge. Delhi was taken after a severe struggle on the 14th September; the mutineers were dispersed all over the country, and were not subdued until they had committed great devastation and injury. The Uprising was not entirely quenched till the autumn of the following year with the active help of allies.[6] On the 4th of November, 1858, the Queen of England was proclaimed Empress of Hindostan, and the possession in India passed out of the hands of the East India Company into those of the Crown.

Notes and References

1. W.H. Carey.
2. ". . . Orders were accordingly issued . . . that on the 1st January, 1766 the double Batta should cease. . . ." Caraccioli's *Clive*, IV. 160.
3. T.A. Bhai.
4. W.H. Carey.
5. "The disaster was relieved by a glorious deed of heroism on 11th May, 1857. The city was abandoned, the cantonment had to be evacuated, but the (ordnance) magazine was not tamely surrendered. The effective garrison consisted of nine Englishmen, for they could not rely on the Indian crew. Early in the morning, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe had come to the magazine to remove two guns for shelling the bridge, but the bridge had already been crossed and the guns could not be moved for lack of transport cattle. Lieutenant Willoughby made what arrangement he could for the defence of the magazine and resolved to blow it up at the last moment. He could not expect any succour from the cantonment, and the crowd outside was growing more and more menacing. At last surrender was demanded in the King's name and ladders were brought for carrying the place by assault. At a preconcerted signal the train was fired and a tremendous explosion announced that the magazine was gone. Of the heroic nine, three died at their post, Willoughby and five others escaped with their lives. Forrest Raynor, Shaw, Buckley and Stewart lived to receive the Victoria Cross, but Willoughby, their leader, survived the explosion to die at the hands of a village mob on his way to Meerut." *Eighteen Fifty-Seven* by Surendra Nath Sen. They were the first winners of Victoria Cross in India. (Ed.)
6. The most important year in Anglo-Gurkha relations was 1857. In that year the flames of the Great Indian Mutiny engulfed the visible power in India. Few Indian princes thought that the English could win India back again and Jung Bahadur was one of those few. Also, I like to think, he was a Gurkha and he had pledged his faith. He threw the whole power of Nepal into the British scales. He even permitted the East India Company to raise more Gurkha regiments. *Bugle & Tiger* by John Masters.

12

Arsenals and Manufactories

The English traders of the East India Company first landed on the Indian soil at Surat in Gujarat in 1607. They also brought Ordnance (Artillery), Muskets and Ammunition provided by the British Board of Ordnance for protection of their ships *en route*. The English set up factories (warehouses) along the coast land first at Surat, then at Bombay, in the South and the East. Up to the year 1748, Big Guns, Small Arms and Military Stores were kept usually on ships or with the Gun-room Crew. On 17, June 1748 the Court of Directors in England issued regulations for the formation of a regular company of Artillery, and establishment of regular Ordnance Services and Laboratories for manufacture of Ammunition. This revolutionary Regulation which was applicable to all the three Presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal transformed huge stocks of British military hardwares, from the gun-rooms of the ships on the sea, onto the Indian land. Thereafter Arsenals, Depots, Magazines and Ammunition Laboratories and Factories located mostly in forts were formed rapidly in the three Presidencies. *(Ed.)*

Arsenals and ordnance factories have played a significant part in the military history of British India. In the beginning the English traders used to bring all the military stores including artillery pieces, muskets and ammunition from England and stored these in the gun-room for safe custody, maintenance and repairs. As their trading centers multiplied, the number of sipahis and troops to guard their warehouses and settlements also increased. When their settlements began to be fortified, the armament and equipment began to be kept in the fortified places, instead on the ships, under the charge of 'The Gunner', the head of the gun-room crew. The cannon used in defence of the Company's settlements in early days were naval and operated by the Company's ships' crew.

In 1748, the gun-room crew was abolished and a Military Store-keeper was appointed whose duties were much more extensive than those of the Gunner. The post was held by covenanted civilians for many years.

The Manufactories

Gunpowder was being manufactured in India early in the seventeenth century.[1] The Company was also granted a licence in 1626 to make powder in England for its own use, while manufacture of gunpowder was started in all the three Presidencies by or for the Company at Surat in 1638, in Madras in 1639 and in Calcutta in 1704. As regards guns, an attempt was made at Madras in 1709 and by Warren Hastings in 1778 to make one but did not succeed. Thereafter the Company took no steps to make guns themselves and these used to be supplied from England.[2] Same is the case with muskets.

The factories for manufacturing gun-carriage established by the Company were at Cossipore (1801), Seringapatam (1802), Bombay (1810) and Fatehgarh in 1816. In the first hundred years, the Company had no ammunition factory. In old Fort William, there was a laboratory in 1718. By 1748 Regulations, laboratories were established to make all military fireworks and a captain-lieutenant was designated as Director of the Laboratories. These laboratories ultimately became ammunition factories. Work of harness and saddlery for the army was first undertaken in 1821 at Seringapatam, Madras, but the proposal to establish a government leather factory at Cawnpore was made in 1854 by Lt. Col. A. Abbott then Principal Commissary of Ordnance.

Clive's Organisation

In the year 1765, Lord Clive reorganized the Army in Bengal and in the process a depot was established at the headquarters of each brigade in the field. This ordnance depot functioned under the overall command of the officer commanding the artillery with the brigade while a deputy commissary who was usually a civilian with two conductors under him, was the incharge. These depots including those located at Monghyr, Allahabad, and Bankipore were fed by the grand arsenal at Fort William, Calcutta which received military stores from England, from local manufacture or purchase. It issued stores direct to the troops also. An Army Officer designated as Commissary or Commissary-General of Stores was incharge with a staff of Deputy Commissaries, Conductors and others. The arsenal had workshops for repairs and laboratories for manufacturing ammunition. Magazines for storing gunpowder were attached to the grand arsenal. In 1769 Major Du Gloss was the Commissary of Stores at Fort William Arsenal.

Clavering's Scheme

General Clavering's scheme, however, brought some vital changes in the Bengal Ordnance organisation. Magazines with enlarged functions of making up stores and ammunition, and all laboratory work were set up at the fixed stations of Berhampore, Dinapore and Chunargarh, each with a commissary of ordnance, a deputy emmissary, and two conductors, all appointed and paid by the Board of Ordnance. The Board issued all

instructions for proper functioning of the magazine, but the staff was placed under the immediate control of the Commanding Officer of the artillery and also to be subordinated to the Commanding Officer at the station. The grand arsenal at Calcutta, however, was under the direct control of the Board. Since the commissaries, deputy commissaries and the conductors employed by Clive and General Clavering were almost all European civilians, the court directed that these posts should be filled by, covenanted servants or military officers. As such the Board of Ordnance decided on 26th July 1783 that commissaries of ordnance must in future be officers of the Corps of Artillery. Thus we find during 1784 that except Berhampore and Midnapore, at Patna, Buxar, Chunargarh, Cawnpore and Fatehgarh, artillery officers employed as commissaries or deputy commissaries of ordnance. Likewise from 1770 till the post of commissary of stores was changed to that of Principal Commissary of Ordnance, the former was usually an officer of the Bengal Artillery, but from 1792 till 1807 the appointment was held by an Engineer Officer.

Well-stocked Calcutta Arsenal

The Handbook of India published by Stocqueller in 1844 states that "the Fort William Arsenal Armoury at that time contained 60,000 stands of arms and 20,000 swords. It had a workyard with 30 forges constantly at work, a grand magazine entirely for small arm ammunition containing readymade 1,200,000 rounds, while the ordnance yards usually contained between 3,000 and 4,000 pieces of brass and iron ordnance, independent of those mounted on the works, which were 619 from 12 to 32-pounders. Shot and Shell were seldom below 1,800,000, ready prepared, exclusive of more than 14,000,000 loose shot for grape and canister. The principal magazines for gunpowder were at Duckinsore and Pultah."

It will not be out of place to mention here that by an Order dt. 9th February 1855 of the Governor-General, the Military Board, successor to the Board of Ordnance, was relieved from the superintendence of the Ordnance Commissariat Department from the 30th April 1855 and the Department was placed under the direct control of an officer, designated as the Inspector General of Ordnance and Magazines. Lt. Col. A. Abbott, the Principal Commissary of Ordnance became the first Inspector-General from the 1st May 1855. It was during his times that Arsenals received India-made arms.[3]

Bombay's Grand Arsenal

In Bombay a Board of Ordnance was established in September, 1779. An Infantry Officer was appointed Commissary of Stores but the Military Store-keeper continued to enjoy his privileges as the ordnance officer. While there were Military Store-keepers at Tellicherry, Thana and Surat—all civilians,—there was a commissary of ordnance, an Artillery Major with a deputy commissary, an Artillery Captain and three conductors with the Southern Army. Whereas military store-keepers and commissary of stores

were stationed in peace establishments, commissary of ordnance served in the field areas. In March, 1794, the General Arsenal was completed to house military stores and Capt. J. Hawkes, Artillery, was appointed Commissary of Stores and incharge arsenal. The functions performed at this arsenal were similar to those of the Calcutta Arsenal. At that time the Department of Ordnance and Stores at the Presidency was headed by a commissary of stores with a deputy commissary of stores, a deputy commissary for the laboratory and the expense magazine, 2 conductors, 3 laboratory and magazine sergeants, 4 laboratory men, 1 European carpenter, 1 European smith, with 200 Indians. The Ground Magazine at Cannanore had a deputy commissary with a conductor, a magazine sergent, 2 laboratory men and 60 Indians. Similarly, the magazines at Calicut and Surat had each a deputy commissary and other staff.

After about three years of its working, the General Arsenal was divided into 2 branches: (1) Ordnance and Laboratory Branch responsible for guns, shot, shell, laboratory, gun powder, magazine, ammunition and other items which were formerly under the charge of the Commandant of Artillery and the Director of the Laboratory; (2) Military Store Branch was to have armoury, accoutrements, camp equipment and other stores which were under the Military Store-keeper. In 1798, the Bombay Arsenal functioned with 2 main branches: (1) Receipt and Issue Branch, and (2) Supply Branch. A commissary of stores was the head of the first branch with 2 deputy commissaries, 43 companies of store lascars, each having a syrang, 4 tindals, 70 lascars and writers and peons. The Supply Branch was under the charge of a civilian agent of stores with an office establishment of 15. The system of supply by the Agent was, however, abolished in 1799, and the stores used to be supplied on contract and commission basis.

Madras Arsenal

The Madras arsenal at Fort St. George begun in 1770 was completed in November, 1772. The Military Store-keeper supplied all stores procurable by manufacture or purchase. A commissary of stores, also called Commissary-General, held charge of stores in the Arsenal. He was assisted by two deputy commissaries, four conductors, four sergeants, and one matross. There were already magazines at Trichinopoly, Vellore, Kishnageherry, Masulipatam, Tanjore, Vellore and Vizagapatam, each having a deputy commissary of stores and an inspector of stores. In 1799 magazines at Ganjam, Chittledroog and Malacca came to be established. In addition some seventeen minor magazines were set up mostly under a conductor, owing to the impeding extensive operations in Mysore.

Special Ordnance Commission

In the year 1875, a Special Ordnance Commission was appointed. "The scope of the commission included the numbers and sites of arsenals, factories and depots, communications and areas of supply, defences,

resources, establishments, war expansions, quantities of stores, methods of interior economy and especially the supply of ammunition and tentage." The principles laid down by the Commission and accepted by the Government continued to constitute for a long time the basis of the ordnance supply system.

Conditions Before 1875

Before the year 1875 the organisation of the Arsenals and Manufactories confirmed to the system of Presidency Armies. The conditions in the several Presidencies varied widely. In each Presidency 'Arsenals', 'Magazines', 'Depots' and 'Factories' were set-up according to the requirements of the troops there. For the Army of 1875 (190,246), 34 supply centres (Arsenals, Magazines, Depots) in those days seem to be out of all proportion to the real needs of the situation, if judged by the present day standards. "Before 1875 the supply centres functioned not with reference to the aggregate requirements of India as a whole, but solely with reference to the needs of each individual Presidency".

Thus indents from Mia Mir used to go down to Calcutta for sanction by the Inspector General of Ordnance before being sent to Ferozepore for compliance. In Bombay Presidency they went to the Arsenal first, then to the Inspector General of Ordnance and then back. There were four Ordnance Departments, one each in Bengal, Madras, Bombay and Hyderabad. Each of the first three confirmed to the system of Presidency Army and was controlled by the Inspector General of the Ordnance and Magazines who was responsible for a number of centres of manufacture, storage and distribution of ammunitions for the use of troops in the respective Presidency Armies. By an order of the Governor General in Council dated 9 Feb. 1855 the post of Inspector General of Ordnance and Magazines was created. This officer was to have individual and direct authority over everything in the Ordnance Commissariat Department except the duties of audit which were transferred to the Military Auditor General and was to have direct and individual responsibility to the Government for the right management of everything under his orders. The fourth Ordnance Department was meant only for the supply of the Hyderabad Contingent and was itself attached to the Madras Ordnance for its supplies. Similarly, Ordnance personnel (of Arsenals and Factories) were liable for transfer only within the Presidency. But with the formation of the 'Ordnance Department in India' under the Director-General of Ordnance as a result of the 1875 Commission, they became liable for transfer all over India, a liability previously applicable to officers. The 'Train of Artillery' which was blown up in the Delhi Magazine on 11th May, 1857 and for which act of heroism, the Ordnance personnel got Victoria Crosses[4] was an Artillery character of the organisation, done away by the Commission.

Outline History of Arsenals and Manufactories

According to the Report of this Ordnance Commission, "the British

establishments in India for manufacture and supply of war material were originally fixed, and subsequently developed, in accordance with the necessities of our first occupation of the country and of the gradual extension of our Eastern Empire. Petty bodies of troops, primarily located in small forts on the seaboard at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, expanded by degrees into large and powerful armies; new contonments were formed and out-posts pushed forward, each to be in turn passed by until finally our frontiers extended from Cape Comorin to beyond Peshawur. Throughout the territories thus acquired, the roads, even where they existed, were but indifferent, the populations hostile, and the communications generally precarious. It was, therefore, at that time absolutely necessary to organise and provide numerous detached depots of warlike stores for the maintenance of the various garrisons scattered over the face of the country.

"This necessity has now, in a great measure, ceased to exist. The warlike powers of native tributary and allied states are much diminished, the martial instincts and predatory tendencies of the populations are gradually disappearing, much of the country has been disarmed, and in every respect our command of the Empire has been vastly increased. Roads, railways, and the telegraph now unite places and countries once nearly inaccessible, or only connected by slender and dangerous communications, canals have been opened, river navigation has been improved, streamers ply on the Indus, Ganges, Brahmaputra and Irrawaddy, regular ocean services have been established between all ports of the coast, and India has been brought within a few weeks of England.

"As communications have developed, and the strength of the Empire consolidated, a general military policy has been gradually superseding the isolated action of particular provinces. Local distinctions among the armies of the three presidencies have been lessened, the European force has been increased, and the dispersion of military stores at small depots partially restricted, notably so in Bengal."

General Principles on which Recommendations of the Commission Based

1st. That all troops should be so equipped as to be ready to take the field on the shortest notice and maintain themselves there for a reasonable period, without extraneous aid, and that each corps, in addition to its equipment, should have in possession a proper supply (say six months) of materials for repair of equipment.

2nd. That, as a rule, materials should be replaced periodically, emergent demands being the exception.

3rd. That ordnance establishments should not be called upon to perform other than ordnance work.

4th. That arsenals and depots should not be multiplied beyond the number absolutely necessary for the efficient supply of troops in the field.

5th. That arsenals and depots should, as far as practicable, be on the main lines of military communication.

6th. That factories, when climatic conditions permit, should be as near the sea-board as is compatible with safety.

DISTRIBUTION OF ARSENALS, MAGAZINES AND DEPOTS (1875)

Bengal

The army of Bengal consists of 41,028 British and 63,146 Native troops, with 240 field guns, garrisoning about 102 military stations and posts. The ordnance supplies for this army are drawn from three main arsenals, viz., *Fort William*, *Allahabad* and *Ferozepore*, with a smaller arsenal at *Peshawur*. Fort William arsenal acts as the receiving depot for stores from England, and supplies them to other arsenals and to military factories. Ferozepore also occasionally receives supplies direct from England, when freights to Kurrachee are favourable. In addition to the above, there are ordnance depots at *Agra*, *Saugor*, *Bareilly*, *Mooltan* and *Dera Ismail Khan*. These depots contain reserve ammunition, entrenching tools, &c., and they supply ammunition to military stations remote from arsenals.

Madras

The army of Southern India, garrisoning 45 military stations, including Burmah, consists of 13,232 British and 33,963 Native troops (including the Hyderabad Contingent, supplied by Madras Ordnance Department, but under the direct orders of the Government of India.) with 105 field runs. This force is supplied from the *"Grand" Arsenal, Madras*, which is also the southern depot for receipt of stores from England; and from that at *Secunderabad* (Hyderabad, Deccan); from the magazines at *Nagpore*, *Bangalore*, and *Rangoon*, and the depots at *Bellary*, *Cannanore*, *Trichinopoly*, *Thayetmyo* and *Tounghoo*.

Bombay

In Western India the force is composed of 12,124 British and 26,753 Native soldiers, with 87 field guns, cantoned over 40 military stations. Its supply is effected from the *"Grand" Arsenal, Bombay* (the receiving depot of stores from England); the arsenals at *Mhow*, *Poona*, *Belgaum*, *Hyderabad* (Sind), and *Aden;* the magazine at *Neemuch* and depots at *Kurrachee* and *Ahmedabad*. The depots at *Ahmednuggur* and *Sholapore* are not establishments for supply, but have been retained for storage purposes.

The proportion of ordnance establishments to commands, stations and troops throughout India (as in 1875) is as follows:

	Ordnance Establishments	*Commands*	*Military Stations*	*Men*	*Remarks*
Bengal	9	13	102	104,174	
Madras	10	9	45	47,195	*With 2 extra depots, for storage
Bombay	9*	7	40	38,877	purposes.

The meaning attached to the terms "arsenal", "magazine" and "depot", as applied to ordnance establishments throughout India, is as below stated:

In Bengal, *arsenals* are establishments for receipt, storage, construction and repair of all kinds of munitions of war. The large arsenals possess extensive workshops, and machinery driven by steam power; that Peshawur is of smaller capacity and without steam power.

Depots receive and issue ammunition and may hold siege trains, entrenching tools, &c. They maintain or hire workmen to keep the stores in an efficient state, but are not working establishments in the ordinary sense.

In Madras and Bombay the *grand arsenals* are establishments on the same scale as the large arsenals in Bengal; the others are similar to that at Peshawur.

The term "magazine" signifies a somewhat smaller establishment of a similar kind; while "depots" is of like meaning, but employs still fewer men.

Location of Factories (1875)

There are three gun carriage factories in India, located at Fatehgarh, Madras and Bombay; three gunpowder factories for supply of army in India namely one at Ishapore, near Calcutta, one at Madras and one at Kirkee, near Poona; two factories for the supply of small arm ammunition, one at Dum-Dum, the other at Kirkee; one foundary and shell factory—the only establishment in India for the manufacture of artillery projectiles at Cossipore; and the only government factory in India established at Cownpore for making harness and saddlery.

Further Developments after 1884

The abolition of the Presidency Armies found the ordnance department already organized in four main sub-divisions. The Bengal Presidency area had proved too large—containing as it did a number of the most important ordnance factories, those near Calcutta, as well as many great arsenal centres—and had been sub-divided into Bengal and the Punjab, each under an Inspector-General of Ordnance. No further change was required to adapt the Indian Ordnance Department to the four command army organization.

In 1898 the factories were removed from the control of the various Inspectors-General of Ordnance and placed directly under the Director-General of Ordnance in India. The change reflected, amongst other things, the greater importance which was beginning to be attached to the industrial and commercial aspect of factory administration, and the consequent need for centralised and specialised direction. The years immediately following contain further evidence of the development of ordnance policy on the technical side. A special establishment was instituted for the testing of guns and ammunition on the sands of the Bay of Bengal at Balasore. The old gun-powder factories at Kirkee and Ishapore were closed and on the site of the latter a rifle factory

was built. The three gun-carriage factories at Madras, Fatehgarh and Bombay were shut down, and the present large central factory at Jubbulpore established. The Cossipore Gun and Shell Factory was strengthened by the opening of a large branch for steel work at Ishapore.

In the meantime the arsenal side had not been neglected. Further substantial progress was made in carrying out the policy of concentration. Several small outlying arsenals, such as Bellary and Mhow, and depots like Trimulgherry and Mandalay, were closed. About the same time a large arsenal was built at Kirkee, and the unprotected Bombay arsenal was reduced to a depot: while, following the movement of the military centre of gravity towards the frontier, supply was concentrated in the Rawalpindi, Quetta and Ferozepore[5] arsenals—the two former had been started as depots in the Afghan War of 1879—and the Fort William and Karachi arsenals were also converted into depots.

The Reorganization of 1912

Proposals for further reorganization and reform came under consideration in the year 1908-10, and the scheme finally approved was brought into force in 1912. The new scheme consisted in the sub-division of the Indian Ordnance Department into 3 units corresponding to the different spheres of ordnance activities, namely, manufacture, represented by the factories, storage and distribution, represented by the arsenals and inspection. Manufacture and storage had already been separated to some extent, as is witnessed by the placing of the factories under the direct control of the Director-General of Ordnance in 1898. The inspection of stores in the course of manufacture, which had hitherto been a part of the responsibility of the factory staff, had, with the expansion of manufacture, acquired an increasing importance, and it was now considered necessary to make separate provision for this function. The three sections, that is to say, the factory section, the stores section, and the inspection section, were placed directly under the control of the Director-General of Ordnance. but each was given a separate Director, and its subordinate units were separately organized. In the case of the factories and arsenals, little was involved beyond a change of procedure and system, which there was little difficulty in effecting. For the duties of inspection a new organization had to be created, and this was built up from groups of "charges." For example, the inspection of guns and rifles was constituted a separate "charge" under a senior officer of the department.

The general effect of the reform was to create an organization which, while still capable of being directed by one individual, was conveniently parcelled out into separate units, each complete with its own administration. The arrangement was flexible, and allowed for the manipulation or expansion of each unit separately a quality which was of signal service a few years later—and it rendered possible, without vital disturbance, the excision of any branch from the parent stem, a process which, as will be seen later, actually took place during the Great War.

About the same time, the number of arsenals and factories was further reduced. Since 1911 there have been seven main arsenals and seven factories, together with four or five small depots, is comparable with the thirty-four arsenals and depots and ten factories of 1876.

About the same time, also, certain steps were taken to bring Indian practice into line with ordnance administration in the United Kingdom as recently developed. It had become the custom in the United Kingdom to place an administrative ordnance officer on the staff of each Command, styled the Assistant Director of Ordnance Service; the object of the arrangement being to bring the officers responsible for ordnance supply into close touch with the consumers, that is to say the troops. In India, with the divisional organization of the time, precisely the same arrangement could not be introduced, but the supply areas of the 7 main arsenals were made co-terminous with military divisions, the Rawalpindi arsenal, the Ferozepore arsenal and the Kirkee arsenal being allotted two divisions each; and the ordnance officers in charge were attached to the divisional staffs with the designation of Assistant Director of Ordnance Services and given two-fold responsibilities, namely, to the ordnance department on the one hand, and to the General Officer Commanding the troops on the other.

The Great War

Specially heavy responsibilities devolved upon the Indian Ordnance Department at the outbreak of the Great War. These continued while the war lasted, and indeed, for a long time after the conclusion of hostilities, the Ordnance Department had a stupendous task to perform. During the war, an Indian Munitions Board was created, which was made responsible for the control of ordnance factories, the provision of ordnance stores to supplement factory outturn, the direct supply of stores from the trade to arsenals and oversees depots, and the whole of the manufacture and supply of clothing for the army. The Indian Munitions Board was abolished when the war came to an end; but it supplied the impulse out of which has been created the Indian Stores Department, a peace organization created for the purchase of stores required by the central departments of the Government of India, with the object, amongst other things of developing the indigenous resources of India.

Arsenals and Manufactories Separated

In 1918, a further process of reform commenced with a suggestion that the ordnance supply services in India, that is to say the arsenal side of the Indian Ordnance Department, should be reorganized on the principles followed in the United Kingdom. The essence of the proposal was that the administration of the arsenals should be severed from that of the other ordnance services, that the arsenal organization should be transferred from the control of the Director-General of Ordnance to the Quartermaster-General, and that clothing and certain stores, which had formerly been dealt with by the Supply and Transport Corps, should

become articles of ordnance supply. These proposals were accepted, and the change was carried out.

The Indian Ordnance Department

The final result was the separation on 1st April, 1918 of the Ordnance Department into two organizations, namely the Indian Ordnance Department and the Indian Army Ordnance Corps. The Indian Ordnance Department is controlled by the Director-General of Ordnance in India, and its functions are the manufacture, and the inspection during the course of manufacture, of Direclethal munitions and of other military equipment, and accoutrements. The Director-General of Ordnance consequently, retains the control of the ordnance factories, the conduct of which is now definitely organized upon a commercial and industrial basis, civil officers being employed to a very large extent in replacement of the former staff of Royal Artillery officers.

The Indian Army Ordnance Corps

The Indian Army Ordnance Corps came to be administered by the Director of Equipment and Ordnance Stores, (Major General Parry was the first D.E.O.S.) under the supervision of the Quartermaster-General in India. Its functions were the storage, and distribution to the troops, of army supplies, derived from the ordnance factories and other sources, and the manufacture of clothing for the army. The Director of Ordnance Services, now controls the arsenals, ordnance depots and ammunition depots, and is responsible for furnishing the troops, in barracks and in the field, with arms, equipment, clothing and boots.

In addition to supplying the troops, the Director of Equipment and Ordnance Stores was responsible for the inspection of ordnance equipment and clothing in the hands of the regular army, the Royal Air Force and the Auxiliary and Territorial forces. This was the development of the system which, as we have seen, was introduced in a rudimentary fashion in 1911. In carrying out this new service, the Director of Equipment and Ordnance Stores was assisted by two Deputy Directors of Ordnance Services attached to the Army Commands, and by a Deputy Assistant Director of Ordnance Services in each of the military districts, except Burma. The Deputy Assistant Directors of Ordnance Services, in addition to inspecting equipment, other than technical equipment, were inspecting ordnance officers for ammunition and explosives. Inspectors of Ordnance Machinery located in various arsenals, inspected artillery, ordnance vehicles and connected equipment in the areas allotted to them, and similarly Civil Chief Master Armourers (or Circuit Armourers) inspected small arms, machine guns and bicycles.

The inspecting staff of the Director of Equipment and Ordnance Stores was completed by an Inspectorate of General Stores located at Cawnpore, consisting of a Chief Inspector of General Stores, an Inspector and Assistant Inspector of general stores, an Inspector of harness and

saddlery, and Inspector of clothing, and clothing stores, such as unmanufactured material. All these officials were charged with the inspection of the various stores with which they were concerned, prior to their being accepted by the store-holding organization.

On the side of the Director-General of Ordnance also efficient arrangements for inspection were instituted, including a Proof and Experimental Officer whose duties were to "prove" ordnance, artillery vehicles and ammunition made in India, and to carry out such experimental work as was possible in India. And in order that the department in India may be kept in touch with scientific developments in the United Kingdom, an Ordnance Consulting Officer and an Assistant Ordnance Consulting Officer were employed at the India Office.

Notes and References

1. When the Dutch besieged the city of Coylang (Quilon) in 1661, Philip Baldaens relates that they were met by 7,000 or 8,000 Nairs of Malabar, who were well acquainted with the use of bow, arrows, and muskets and great cannon. *A Description of Indian and Oriental Armour (1896)* by Lord Egerton of Tatton.
2. The peculiar arms of contending nations of the last century passed into proverbs, and the phrase 'The Mahratta spear, the Afghan sword, the Sikh matchlock, and the English cannon is still of common repetition'. *A Description of Indian and Oriental Armour (1896)* by Lord Egerton of Tatton.
3. After the Sikh wars, and again after the mutiny of 1857, a general disarmament took place, many of the old armouries were broken up, and many curious old weapons destroyed and sold as old metal. *A Description of Indian and Oriental Armour (1896)* by Lord Egerton of Tatton.
4. The Victoria Cross (VC) was instituted by Queen Victoria in 1856 (made retrospective to the spring of 1854) for acts of great bravery in the face of the enemy. All Victoria Crosses are cast from a piece of gun metal held in the Armaments Stores Depot, Technical Stores Organisation, Donnington. This metal in turn is believed to have been cut from one of the two Russian guns captured at Sevastopol and now held by Technical Stores Sub-Depot, Woolwich (England). For the first and only time in the history of VC four civilians (two magistrates, one assistant commissioner and one volunteer serving with the Indian Naval Brigade) got the award for services in the 1857 Uprising. Women were included in the Warrant but none have received the award. The first man to win the Victoria Cross was Mate C.D. Lucas of Royal British Navy for his brave action in the Baltic on 21st June, 1854. The youngest winner had been India-born Hospital Apprentice Arthur Fitzgibon of the Indian Medical Establishment, for his bravery at Taku Fort, China on 21st August, 1860, when he was barely fifteen years and three months old. The oldest recipient was Lt. (later Capt.) William Raynor, Assistant Commissary of Ordnance, Bengal Ordnance Department, who on 11th May, 1857, at the age of sixty-nine, defended the Delhi Magazine.

   At the siege of Delhi in 1857, a battalion of the Bengal Fusiliers had so distinguished itself that it was bidden elect a man to receive the Victoria Cross. They did so, and some-what to the surprise of the officers. The men unanimously chose their canteen sergeant for that month, who in due course was honoured. *The Reason*: In the field when ruin was a daily ration, this particular sergeant distributed the rum with a measure with his finger and thumb both outside while he could have saved for himself each day close on a thousand times the thickness of thumb tip which was considered a fair perquisite and so

recognized. For his self-denial, they chose him unanimously for the 'Cross'. *Behind the Scenes in Many Wars* by Lt. Gen. Sir George Macmunn.

5. A total of ten Albert Medals, a record for a single occasion were awarded to Ordnance personnel of Ferozepore Arsenal for saving the Arsenal and the Ferozepore city from great damage and loss of life, on explosion by spontaneous combustion of a large quantity of cordite on 31st August, 1906. The Albert Medal, commonly called 'The Civilians Victoria Cross' was originally instituted by Queen Victoria under a Royal Warrant dt. 7 March 1866 as a reward for heroic actions performed in saving life. "Indian Army Ordnance Corps has won more Albert Medals for bravery displayed in circumstances of the greatest danger in peace, than any Corps in the British Empire. *India's Army* by Major Donovan Jackson.

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British Military Justice in India

While giving evidence before the Select Committee set-up in 1831 to inquire into affairs of East India Company, Major General Sir Joseph Nicolls stated that military flogging was practised in the native army of Bengal for the specified crimes of military insubordination, desertion and theft though punishment inflicted was always with court martial. He added that drunkenness was very rare amongst native troops as, "of three years, in 28,000 men, I had three instances in the whole time, and two in these were from the immoderate use of opium.' Colonel J. David C.B. said that natives received corporal punishment with the cat, not with the ratan; but they were never punished without the sentence of court martial, which in such cases, according to Major General Sir T. Pritlzer was composed of native officers, directed by an European officer as judge-advocate.

The following article deals with the origins and development of the system of military law and justice as established by the Britishers in India. Military law, rules and regulations play a very vital role in moulding the character, discipline, courage and other qualities of a soldier. This system of military law and justice has significantly contributed to the excellent standards of discipline and military traditions in the Indian Armed Forces. *(Ed.)*

Commencing with the *Hector*, the first British ship which anchored in 1607 at Surat, all the ships were commanded by a 'General', a 'Captain' or a 'Vice-Admiral'. These ships which came for trading to India, had factors and soldiers on board. In the early days, unwilling recruits for the East India Company were acquired by means of press-gangs and largely composed of dubious characters, drunkards and deserters. To maintain discipline amongst such a crew and 'because no great action can well be carried out without an absolute authority the Queen granted the General (of the ship) a Commission of Martial Law'. Later on Englishmen enlisted voluntarily in the Company's service.

Naval Discipline

While discipline aboard the ships was often cruelly savage, the punishments were worse than barbarous. The General/Captain had

autocratic power and it was very difficult for the victim to obtain redress. Flogging was the usual punishment.[1] On 31 May 1790, the captain of the *William Pitt* wrote in the log book 'On the outward voyage to Bengal, punished five recruits with two dozen and Otle dozen lashes for mutinous and riotous behaviour.' John Shipp wrote that 'the cat o'nine tails was constantly at work during the voyage to India in 1809 of the *Warren Hastings;* and so many of the soldiers were flogged that Captain Thomas Larkins at last intervened and informed the senior military officer that he would not have his quarter-deck turned into a slaughter-house.[2]

flogging and canning were the usual methods of enforcing obedience or preventing idleness, on board ship and even surgeons were liable to acts of violence. The Captain of the *Hopewell* in 1643 used a rope's end on the ship's surgeon. Another surgeon complained in 1692 that the captain had him tied up in order to ducking which is the next punishment unto death.[3] Barlow narrates a number of such instances of harsh and severe punishments and ends his Journal with thanks to God for preserving him "in all his voyages through many and great dangers."[4]

Army Discipline

On arrival in India, escape for the recruit was impossible; the soldiers were at the complete mercy of their masters. Whoever they might be for the time being, they were frequently harshly and even cruelly treated; in cases of subordination, the culprits were placed in irons and made to work with the native convicts on the road.[5]

By a charter granted in 1661, the President and Council of each factory were entrusted with power of martial law for the government of the troops kept for its defence. The President was Commander-in-Chief of the forces belonging to his presidency, which consisted, with few exceptions, of English soldiers sent out in the Company's ships, and on occasions of emergency, a few European mercenaries or deserters from the various French, Dutch, and Portuguese settlements in India, half-caste Topasses and African slaves.[6] Even prior to 1661, the soldiers were treated in a very harsh manner and severe punishments were inflicted for minor breaches of discipline. In the army flogging was the usual punishment for maintaining discipline among the soldiers.

Origin of British Military Law

It is well known that the military law of England had its origin in the year 1689, or in the first year of the reign of William and Mary after the revolution, when an act for the punishment of mutiny and desertion, was for the first time passed by the British Parliament.

With the exception of about three years only, (from April 1698 to February 1701), this act has since been annually renewed, with such alterations and amendments as seemed called for; but it invariably in its preamble states, that by the common law, no man can be subjected to any punishment except "his peers, and according to the known and established

law of this realm."[7] And it then goes on to enact the legal exceptions from this general rule, which are to be allowed.

"It is this annual act, with his Majesty's Articles of War founded thereon, which constitutes the military law for his *Majesty's* forces: and these, so far as regards that portion of the King's troops serving under the three East India Presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, will now be found, in all material new modifications, to coincide with the existing act, and Articles of War, of the present King, for the *Company's* forces."

The first act passed by Parliament, applicable to any portion of the *Company's* forces, was that of the 27th of George the 2nd, in the 1753; and Articles of War founded thereon, were published by his Majesty in the following year, 1754, as follows:

THE FIRST ARTICLES OF WAR

Divine Worship

I. All Officers and Soldiers, not having just impediment, shall diligently frequent Divine Service and Sermon, in the places appointed for the assembling of the Regiment, Troop, or Company, to which they belong; such as wilfully absent themselves, or, being present, behave indecently or irreverently, if Commissioned Officers, be brought before a Court Martial, there to be publicly and severely reprimanded by the President: If Non-Commissioned Officer, or Private Soldiers, every person so offending shall, for his offence, forfeit twelve pence, to be deducted out of his next pay; for the second offence, he shall not only forfeit twelve pence, but be laid in irons for twelve hours; and for every like offence shall suffer and pay in like manner: which money so forfeited, shall be applied to the use of the Sick Soldiers of the Troop or Company, to which the Offender belongs.

II. Whatsoever Officer or Soldier shall use any unlawful oath or execration shall incur the penalties expressed in the first Article.

Whatsoever Officer or Soldier shall presume to speak against any known article of the Christian Faith, shall be delivered over to the Civil Magistrate, to be proceeded against according to law.

Whatsoever Officer or Soldier shall presume any place dedicated to Divine worship, or shall offer violence to a Chaplain of the Army, or to any other Minister of God's word; he shall be liable to such penalty or corporal punishment, as shall be inflicted on him by a Court Martial.

Mutiny

I. Whatsoever Officer or Soldier shall presume to use traitorous or disrespectful words against the sacred person of His Majesty, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, or any of the Royal family,—if a Commissioned Officer, he shall be cashiered,—if a Non-Commissioned Officer or Soldier, he shall suffer such punishment as shall be inflicted upon him by the sentence of a Court Martial.

II. Any Officer or Soldier who shall begin, excite, cause, or join in any

Mutiny or Sedition in the Troop, Company, or Regiment, to which he belongs, or in any other Troop or Company in the Service, or on any Party, Post, Detachment, or Guard, on any pretense whatsoever, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as by a Court Martial shall be inflicted.

Any Officer or soldier who shall strike his superior Officer, or draw, or offer to draw, or shall lift up any weapon, or offer any violence against him, being in the execution of his office, or any pretence whatsoever, shall disobey any lawful command of his superior, shall suffer Death, or such other punishment as shall, according to the nature of his offence, be inflicted upon him by the sentence of a Court Martial.

Returns

I. Every Officer who shall knowingly make a false Return to the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, or to any Officer authorized to call for such Returns, of the state of Regiment, Troop, or Company, or Garrison, under his command, or of Arms, Ammunition, Clothing, or other Stores thereunto belonging, shall by a Court Martial be cashiered.

Desertion

I. All Officers and Soldiers, who having received pay, or having been duly inlisted in the service, shall be convicted of having deserted the same, shall suffer Death, or such punishment as by a Court Martial shall be inflicted.

II. Any Non-Commissioned Officer or Soldier, who shall, without leave from his Commanding Officer, absent himself from his Troop, or Company, or from any Detachment with which he shall be commanded, shall, upon being convicted thereof, be punished according to the nature of his offence at the discretion of a Court Martial.

IV. Whatsoever Officer or Soldier shall be convicted of having advised persuaded any other Officer or Soldier to defect the service, shall suffer such punishment as shall be inflicted upon him by the Sentence of a Court Martial.

Quarrels and sending Challenges

I. No Officer or Soldier shall use any reproachful or provoking speeches or gestures to another, upon pain, if an Officer, of being put in arrest; if a soldier, imprisoned, and asking pardon of the party offended, in the presence of his Commanding Officer.

II. No Officer or Soldier shall presume to send a Challenge to any other Officer or Soldier, to fight a Duel, upon pain, if a Commissioned Officer, of being cashiered, if a Non-Commissioned Officer, or Soldier, of suffering corporal punishment at the discretion of Court Martial.

Of Crimes punishable by Law

I. Whenever any Officer or Soldier shall be accused of a capital Crime, or of having used violence, or committed any offence against the person or

property of our subjects, such as is punishable by the known laws of the land, the Commanding Officer and Officer of every Regiment, Troop, Company, or Party, to which the person or persons so accused shall belong, are hereby required, upon application duly made by, in behalf of the party or parties injured, to use his utmost endeavours to deliver over such accused person or persons to the Civil Magistrate; and likewise to be aiding and assisting to the Officers of Justice, in apprehending and securing the person or persons so accused, in order to bring him or them to a trial. If any Commanding Officer or Officers shall wilfully neglect, or shall refuse, upon the application aforesaid to deliver over such accused person or persons to the Civil Magistrate, or to be aiding to the Officers of Justice in apprehending such person or persons, the Officer or Officers so offending shall be cashiered.

II. No Officer shall protect any person from his creditors on the pretence of his being a Soldier. Any Officer offending herein, being convicted thereof before a Court Martial, shall be cashiered.

Of Redressing Wrongs

I. If any Commissioned Officer, or inferior Officer or Soldier, shall think himself wronged by his superior, or other Officer, he is to complain thereof to the Commanding Officer of the Regiment, Troop, or Company, who is hereby required to summon a Court Martial for doing justice to the complainant.

Of Stores, Ammunition etc.

I. Whatsoever Commissioned Officer, Store Keeper, or Commissary shall be convicted at a General Court Martial of having sold (without a proper order for that purpose), embezzled, misapplied, or wilfully or through neglect suffered any of the Provisions, Forage, Arms, Clothing, Ammunition, or other Military Stores committed to his charge to be spoiled or damaged, the said Officer, Store Keeper, or Commissary so offending shall, at his own charge, make good the loss or damage, and be dismissed from the service.

Of Duties in Quarters, in Garrison, or in the Field

I. All Non-Commissioned Officers and Soldiers, who shall be found one mile from the camp, without leave in writing from their Commanding Officer, shall suffer such punishment as shall be inflicted upon them by the Sentence of a Court Martial.

V. Whatever Commissioned Officer shall be found drunk on his guard, party, or duty, under arms, shall be cashiered for it; any Non-Commissioned Officer or Soldier so offending, shall suffer such corporal punishment as shall be inflicted by the Sentence of a Court Martial.

VI. Whatever Centinel shall be found sleeping upon his post, or shall leave it before he shall be regularly relieved, shall suffer Death, or such punishment as shall be inflicted by the Sentence of a Court Martial.

XIII. Whatever Officer or Soldier shall misbehave himself before the Enemy, and run away, or shamefully abandon any fort, post, or guard, which he or they shall be commanded to defend, or speak words inducing others to do the like; or who, after victory shall quit his Commanding Officer or post, to plunder and pillage: every such offender, being duly convicted thereof, shall be reputed a disobeyer of Military Orders, and shall suffer Death or such other punishment as by a General Court Martial shall be inflicted on him.

XV. Any person belonging to the Forces, who shall make known the Watch-word to any person, who is not entitled to receive it according to the Rules and Discipline of War, or shall presume to give a Parole or Watch-word different from what he received, shall suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by the Sentence of a Court Martial.

XVIII. Whosoever shall be convicted of holding correspondence with, or giving intelligence to the Enemy, either directly, or indirectly shall suffer Death, of such punishment as by a Court Martial shall be inflicted.

XIX. All Public Stores taken in the Enemy's Camp, Towns, Forts, or Magazines, whether of Artillery, Ammunition, Cloathings, Forage, or Provisions, shall be secured for the Service.

Administration of Justice

IV. The person officiating as Judge Advocate shall prosecute in His Majesty's name; and, in all trials of offenders by General Court Martial Administer to each Member the following oath:

I. A.B. do swear, that I will duly administer justice according to the Rules and Articles for the better Government of the Officers and Soldiers in the service of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and according to an act of Parliament now in force, for the punishment of Mutiny and Desertion of Officers and Soldiers in the service of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and for the punishment of offences committed in the East Indies, or at the Island of Saint Helena, without partiality, favour or affection; and if any doubt shall arise, which is not explained by the said Articles, or Act of Parliament, according to my conscience, the best of my understanding, and the custom of War in the like cases. And I do further swear, that I will not divulge the Sentence of the Court, until it shall be approved by the General or Commander-in-Chief, or the person or persons by whose Warrant or Authority the Court Martial shall be held; neither will I, upon any account, at any time whatever, disclose or discover the vote or opinion of any particular Member of the Court Martial, unless required to give evidence thereof as a witness by a Court of Justice in due course of Law.

XV. No Officer or Soldier who shall be put in arrest, or imprisoned, shall continue in his confinement more than eight days, or till such time as a Court Martial can be conveniently assembled.

XVIII. Every Officer or Provost Martial, to whose charge Prisoners shall be committed, is hereby required, within twenty-four hours after such

commitment, or as soon as he shall be relieved from his guard, to give in writing to the Commanding Officer of the Regiment, Troop or Company, to whom each Prisoner belongs, their names, their crimes and the names of the Officers who committed them, and where the Prisoner is confined, on the penalty of his being punished for his disobedience or neglect at the discretion of a Court Martial.

XX. Whatsoever Commissioned Officer shall be convicted before a General Court Martial, of behaving in a scandalous, infamous manner, such as is unbecoming the character of an Officer and a gentleman, shall be discharged from the service.

GEORGE R.

(Additional Articles of War for the better Government of the Officers and Soldiers in the Service of the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies.)

XXI. In all trials by any Courts Martial (other than General Court Martial) the person appointed to be President thereof shall administer to each of the other Members thereof the prescribed Oaths.

XXII. All persons, who give evidence before any General or other Court Martial, are to be examined upon Oath.

Signed G.R.

Artillery

I. All Officers, Conductors, Gunners, Matrosses, Drivers, or any other persons whatever receiving pay or on hire in the services of the Artillery, shall be governed by the aforesaid Rules or Articles, and shall be subject to be tried by Courts Martial, in like manner with the Officers and Soldiers of the other troops.

Relating to the Foregoing Articles

I. The foregoing articles are to be read and published once in every two months at the head of Regiment, Troop, or Company, mustered or to be mustered in the service; and are to be duly observed, and exactly obeyed, by all Officers and Soldiers who are or shall be in the service.

II. All crimes not capital, and all disorders, or neglects, which Officers and Soldiers may be guilty of, to the prejudice of good order and Military discipline, (though not mentioned in the above Articles of War) are to be taken cognizance of by a Court Martial, and to be punished at their discretion.

III. And it is our further will and pleasure, that whenever any of our Land Forces shall be sent into the East Indies, they shall, whilst employed there, duly observe and obey the foregoing Rules and Articles for the better Government of the Officers and Soldiers in the service of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies; and be subject to the pains and penalties therein specified for crimes and offences against the same.

IV. The Officers of our said Land Forces, so employed in the East

Indies, are on all Detachments, Courts Martial, or other duty, wherein they may be joined with Officers of the United Company, to command and take profit of the said United Company's Officers, though the commissions of the said United Company's Officers, of the like ranks, should be of elder dates. (The Officers of the Company's Army receive His Majesty's Commissions corresponding to those of the tank they attain in the Company's Service).

Before this act was passed, the Company, by the charter of King William had been authorized to raise forces; and this act of George the 2nd was applicable to their European forces alone, or to soda as they had originally raised within the British isles; the levy of which last was further subsequently regulated by the 39th of George the 3rd, which expressly enacted, that until embarkation, the forces shall be liable to the Annual Mutiny Act, and afterwards, to this act of George the 2nd.

Act Applicability to Native Troops

Now in 1753, or at the time the act of George the 2nd was passed, the British legislature did not possess any legislative power over the *natives* in the Company's service; for "the few thousand natives armed after the manner of the country," at the time in their service, were exclusively the subjects of foreign Indian princes, and the Company had not then obtained by cession or conquest the sovereignty or independent government of any Indian territory.[8]

The words "officers and soldiers," when used alone in that act, never were applied by Parliament to *sepoys* or *native* troops, (the native subadars and jemadars of whom had then no commissions, and were, at that time, nominated merely by warrants from the Colonels commanding brigades) for in all subsequent acts of Parliament, the distinction is maintained by the express nomination of them, not as "officers and soldiers" only, but "as native troops," or "officers and soldiers being natives of the East Indies."

Even upon the cession of the Dewanny in Bengal (1766), and of the Carnatic on the coast, and after the acquisition of the Bombay provinces, when Parliament authorized the establishment of the Majesty's courts at the Presidencies of the East India Company, then possessing ceded or conquered territories, the British legislature still carefully refrained from legislating directly for any natives of those Indies, except only for those within the limits fixed for the King's supreme courts of judicature.

Nay, by the several acts passed in the 37th, 30th and 40th years of the reign of George the 3rd, the British Parliament specially recognized, in the several Government of India Acts, the power of legislating for all their native subjects, including of course their native troops, and not only will articles of war, and other military regulations, be found to have been published by the several Governments, for their native armies, but in the civil code formed by the local governments under these very acts of Parliament, will be found a formal regulation, empowering these governments, in particular cases, to declare even the native civil inhabitants liable to martial law.

A Select Committee commonly known as the East India Committee was appointed in 1832 by the British House of Commons on the affairs of East India Company in relation to the Army of India. Evidence given by the witnesses mostly top brass military officers, tells the state of military justice in the armies of the East India Company. For example, Maj.-Gen. Sir Pritzler said, "For the trial of Europeans, the King's and Company's officers, sit in conjuction in the same court; and for the trial of Natives; the court martial is composed of Native officers, directed by an European officer as a judge-advocate." Maj. Gen. Nicoll's stated that amongst 28,000 Indian soldiers in three years there was only a solitary case of drunkenness.

Major General Sir Jasper Nicolls Quartermaster General of King's Troops in Bengal

Is military flogging practised in the native army in India? In Bengal it has been abolished, except for three or four specified crimes; and the rule of the service is, that when a lash has been inflicted upon a sepoy, he is *ipso facto* discharged from that time.

What are those crimes?—Military insubordination in all its branches, desertion and theft.

Is the punishment inflicted with or without court martials? Always by court martial, and sentence cannot be executed without the consent of the general officer commanding the division. That is it goes through very much greater form than it does in our service.

Is drunkenness a common crime in the native army in Bengal? No; of three years, in 28,000 men, I had three instances in the whole time, and two in those were from the immoderate use of opium.

Major General Sir T. Pritlzer

How are courts-martial composed in India; do the King's and Company's officers sit together in the same court? They do. For the trial of Europeans the King's and Company's officers sit in conjunction; for the trial of sepoys the court-martial is composed of native officers, directed by an European officer as a judge advocate.

Colonel J. David Greenhill C.B.

Do the natives receive corporal punishment? Yes with the cat, not with the rattan; but they are never punished without the sentence of court-martial. The rattan is not allowed now. I think it is wrong. I think they require a little punishment with the rattan, which would be an advantage and at the same time save a more serious punishment.

Would you leave the punishment of the men with the rattan to the uncontrolled discretion of European officer?—I would confine it to the commanding officer and adjutant.

And allow them to punish the men with the sentence of court-martial—Yes it always has been so.

When a sepoy has been punished by the cat, on the sentence of a court-martial, does that operate at once as a dismissal from the service?—Now it does generally.

Are the native non-commissioned officers subject to punishment and sentence of a court-martial?—Yes and only by sentence of a court-martial.

Do you conceive it would be good thing if they were exempted from punishment?—No; but; I think the CO should have the power occasionally to reduce without a court-martial.

Has the colonel of the regiment any power, as in King's service of dismissal without a court-martial?—He had the power to break havildars, but he has lately been deprived of that power.

When you say you think the colonel ought to have that power, do you extend that opinion to native commissioned officers as well as men?—Only to the non-commissioned officer.

Some Court Martial Regulations

The Hospital Apprentices, the Apothecaries, Stewards, and their respective Assistants, are to be considered subject to Military rules and discipline as provided for in the case of Warrant Officers, and as directed in G.O.C.C. dated the 6th of July 1802, with respect to Drummers, Fifers and Soldiers professing the Christian religion whether born in Europe or in India, and without reference to their parentage, they are, when coming under the above description, to be tried for military crimes by Courts Martial, composed of European Commissioned Officers only. (*Govt. G.O. 30th August, 1816.*)

Native soldiers guilty of Desertion, for the first time not to be brought before General Courts Martial, unless aggravated circumstances have attended the crime; to be tried by Regimental Courts, for absence without leave.

(*Adjt. Gen.'s Cir. 29th, March 1827.*)

Trial by Courts Martial of persons charged with having preferred false complaints before Magistrates prohibited.

(*Adjt. Gen.'s Cir. 26th September, 1828.*)

The Commander-in-Chief on a re-consideration of the extent of imprisonment, which a Regimental Court Martial is declared, in General Orders of the 1st instant, to be competent to award, is pleased to restrict the period to six weeks. (*G.O.C.C. 21st August, 1829.*)

An instance having lately occurred of a Native Doctor who was found guilty of intoxication, being sentenced by a Regimental Court Martial to be flogged, the Commander-in-Chief desired it may be understood, that he does not consider corporal punishment as a fit-sentence for a class of persons, whose respectability His Excellency is desirous to maintain. Where the conduct of a Native Doctor may be found such as to degrade him in the eyes of the Regiment, or to render him unworthy of the confidence of the Surgeon, His Excellency is pleased to authorize a Regimental Court Martial to award as a punishment, dismissal from the service, as only men of good character will be allowed to remain in so respectable a situation.

(*G.O.C.C. 24th May, 1832.*)

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, directs that, for the future, when Soldiers, in Quarters, have been confined in a state of intoxication, they shall never be brought forward for examination into their offences, until twenty-four hours shall have elapsed subsequent to their confinement.

The same rule is to apply on a march, or elsewhere, unless good grounds should exist for a more prompt proceeding.

(G.O.C.C. 7th September, 1838.)

The Commander-in-Chief is satisfied from the quiet and orderly habits of the Native Soldiers, that it can very seldom be necessary to inflict on them the punishment of flogging, while it may be almost entirely abolished, with great advantage to their character and feelings.

His Excellency is therefore pleased to direct, that no Native Soldier shall, in future be sentenced to corporal punishment, unless for the crime of Stealing, Marauding, or Gross Insubordination, when the individuals are deemed unworthy to continue in the Ranks of the Army.

(Adj. Gen.'s Cir. 9th, and G.O.C.C. 19th March, 1827.)

Applicable to Both European and Native Troops[9]

Statutory provision was first made for the discipline of the Honourable East India Company's troops by an Act (27 Geo 11, Cap 9). The terms of the Act were wide enough to cover both European and native troops, but the language of the articles themselves shows that they were originally intended for Europeans only. In the absence of any other code, however, the Governments of Bengal, Madras and Bombay seem to have applied these articles, with such modifications and omissions as appeared necessary, to the bodies of native troops maintained by them, of which the present Indian Army is the descendant. In 1813, owing to doubts having arisen as to the legal validity of the existing arrangements for the discipline of the native armies, provisions were inserted in the Act[9] which was passed in that year to extend the Company's privileges for a further term, which legalised the existing system and gave power to each of the Governments of Fort William, Fort Saint George and Bombay to make laws, regulations, and Articles of War for the government of all officers and soldiers in their respective services who were "natives of the East Indies or other places within the limits of the Company's Charter". It was further provided in 1824[10] that such legislation should apply to the native troops of each presidency, wherever serving, and whether within or beyond His Majesty's dominions.

Each Presidency Frames its own Code

Under the statutory sanction of these two enactments a military code was framed by the government of each presidency and put in force as regards its own troops. These codes still followed to a great extent the Articles of War then applicable to the Company's Europeans, but the only punishments awardable to native officers seem to have been death, dismissal, suspension, and reprimand and to native soldiers, death and

corporal punishment. Transportation and imprisonment were not awardable.

Government of India Act, and the "Articles of War"

By section 73 of the Government of India Act, 1833,[11] the power to legislate for the whole native army was restricted to the Governor General in Council, and laws so made were given general application to all "native officers and soldiers" wherever serving. Obviously the native officers and soldiers here referred to are the "natives of the East Indies or other places within the limits of the Company's Charter" of the earlier legislation. This is confirmed by the fact that in later legislation[12] the existence in India of three military codes is recognised—i.e., that of the Queen's troops, that of the Company's Europeans, and that of the Company's troops who are "natives of the East Indies or other places within the limits of the "Company's Charter". Under the powers conferred upon it by the Act of 1833 the Indian Legislature for the first time provided a common code for the native armies of India in 1845, "Articles of War" for those armies being enacted by the Governor General in Council as Act XX of that year. This Act was shortly after repealed and replaced by Act XIX of 1847 which, having been frequently amended[13] in the intervening period, was in its turn repealed by Act XXIX of 1861 (an Act to consolidate and amend the Articles of War for the government of the Native Officers add Soldiers in Her Majesty's Indian Army). This was repealed by Act V of 1869 ("the Indian Articles of War") which replaced it. In the preamble to this Act reference was for the first time made to "native officers, soldiers, and other persons in Her Majesty's Indian Army," thus recognising the existence of what are commonly known as "followers."

Amendments of "Articles" in 1894

The amalgamation of the three native armies into one in 1895 necessitated considerable amendments in the "Indian Articles of War". These amendments were effected by Act XII of 1894 and the India Articles of War, as altered by this Act, and by various minor amending Acts,[14] furnished the statutory basis of the Indian military code until 1911. As time went on, however, and the Indian Army began to take its share in the imperial responsibilities of the British Army, it was found that an Act originally framed for three separate local forces, each serving as a rule in its own Presidency, failed to provide adequately for the discipline and administration of that army under modern conditions. Owing also to the mass of amendments super-imposed on the original articles, these were often difficult to understand, and sometimes even self-contradictory.

The Indian Army Act, 1911

The amendment of the Indian Articles of War was therefore again taken up in 1908, but the consideration then given to the subject showed that a new consolidating and amending Act would be necessary, any

further amendment of the articles of 1869 being only likely to accentuate the existing confusion. A Bill was accordingly drafted consolidating the existing law as to the Indian Army into one simple and comprehensive enactment and adding such provisions as experience had shown to be necessary. This was passed into law on the 16th March 1911 as the "Indian Army Act" and came into force on the 1st January 1912. All previous Acts dealing with the subject were repealed by section 127 of the Act. Amendments subsequently made by various minor amending Acts[15] were incorporated in due course.

The Indian Army (Suspension of Sentences) Act, 1920

During the war 1914-18 temporary Acts[16] were passed to provide for the suspension of sentences. These measures were found to be beneficial, and on the 23rd March 1920 a permanent Act to provide for the suspension of sentences of imprisonment or transportation passed by courts-martial on persons subject to the Indian Army Act, which repealed the temporary Acts, came into force. This Act which is known as the "Indian Army (Suspension of Sentences Act")[17] has to be read as one with the Indian Arm Act.

Rules and other "Subordinate Legislation"

The 1911 military code of the Indian Army as modified was thus contained in the Indian Army Act, the Indian Army (Suspension of Sentences) Act and certain rules and other matters which latter, being made in pursuance of he Indian Army Act by authorities therein empowered to do so, have the force of law. Examples of this latter class of "subordinate legislation" are the Rules framed by the Central Government under section 113 of the Indian Army Act, and those as to "minor punishments" contained in Regulations for the Army in India, which derive their statutory force from orders issued by the Commander-in-Chief in pursuance of section 20 of the Indian Army Act.

Persons Permanently Subject to Indian Military Law

The Regular Forces include the Indian Army,[18] and all persons in the Regular Forces are *prima facie* subject to the Army Act,[19] i.e., to the code of the British Army. Such of the Regular Forces, however, as are officers, soldiers or followers in His Majesty's Indian Forces are, if "natives of India", made subject to Indian military law[20] and are to be tried and punished in accordance with that law. "Natives of India are, for the purposes of the Army Act, defined as—"persons triable and punishable under Indian military law"—which is, in its turn, defined[22] as "the Articles of War or other matters made, enacted, or in force, or which may hereafter be made, enacted, or in force under the authority of the Government of India". The position therefore is that those persons in His Majesty's Indian Forces for whom the Indian legislature acting within the extent of its legislative powers, has provided a military code, are subject to that code and are tried and punished in accordance with it instead of in accordance

with the Army Act. The Indian legislature had, by section 73 of the Government of India Act, 1833[23] referred to above, power to make laws for all officers and soldiers"—that is for all persons permanently subject to military law and regularly commissioned, appointed, or enrolled into the military service of the Crown in India who are "natives of the East Indies or other places within the limits of the Company's Charter"—in fact for most Asiatics and some Africans.

Section 73 of the Government of India Act, 1833, has been repealed and by section 65(1)(d) of the Government of India Act, 1915[24] which replaced it, the India legislature is empowered to make laws for the government of officers, soldiers and followers in His Majesty's Indian Forces in so far as they are not subject to the Army Act, which laws shall, as in the Act of 1833, apply to them at all times and wherever serving. It has, however, been held that the scope of the Indian Army Act, 1911, which was passed in exercise of the powers conferred by section 73 of the Government of India Act of 1833, has not been extended by the subsequent passing of the Government of India Act of 1915. Nevertheless, the Indian Army Act of 1911 permits the enrolment, for instance, of Anglo-Indians of Indian domicile, on the ground that such persons are "natives of India" for the purposes of the Government of India Act of 1833, under which the Indian Army Act of 1911 was enacted. The position is the same under the Government of India Act, 1935. The Indian Legislature has so far applied its military code to the following classes, wherever serving[25]:

(1) Indian commissioned officers.
(2) Viceroy's commissioned officers.
(3) Warrant officers.
(4) Persons enrolled under the Indian Army Act.

Persons Temporarily Subject to Indian Military Law

The persons commonly known as "followers" are not ordinarily subject to Indian military law, unless they have been enrolled under the Indian Army Act, but it is obviously necessary that they and other civilians who accompany the army should be subject to military discipline on active service and in certain other circumstances. Accordingly we find that the Indian Army Act is also[26] applied to—

"Persons not otherwise subject to military law, who, on active service, in camp, on the march, or at any frontier post specified by the Central Government by notification in this behalf, are employed by, or are in the service of, or are followers of, or accompany any portion of, His Majesty' Forces."

The above provision does not operate so as to subject Europeans, British or foreign to Indian military law when they accompany His Majesty's Forces under the circumstances mentioned. Such persons are however subject to the Army Act (British) when they accompany these forces on active service. Its operation as to non-Europeans who are not

native Indian subjects, of His Majesty is in some cases doubtful, and may depend on the employment of the person concerned and the locality of the service. Any civilian, however, who is on active service with a British Indian force, and is not subject to the Indian Army Act, will be subject to the Army Act,[27] so that no one will escape entirely from military discipline.[28]

Origin of Summary Court Martial[29]

Summary court martial is peculiar to the Indian Army. In no other army, a Commanding Officer, who 'alone constitutes' the court, has the power of passing such sentence as a year's imprisonment. It will be of interest to go into the background and to trace the sequence of events which led to introduction of summary court martial.

The East India Company had no regular army until the Anglo-French Wars (1744-46) necessitated raising regular troops. Major Stringer Lawrence, in 1748, organised the Madras European Regiment and enlisted 2000 sepoys. Simultaneously, a code of military law was prepared with the help of 'articles of war' then in force in England, though in modified form, the 'articles of war' continued to exist under the denomination 'Rules for Mutiny and Desertion'. The officers commanding units had large powers and the discipline of the corps mainly depended upon them: they were indeed the last word and they could do anything according to their judgment. They could make new laws or break them according to the circumstances. Many of the offences could be punished by them, and only those of a very serious nature had to be sent for court martial. In the court martial itself, where the Commanding Officer usually presided, he had a good deal of power, Major-General Birch. Military Secretary to the Bengal Presidency Army, at Allahabad, in 1859, informed the committee which had been appointed to go into the question of reorganisation of the Army after the Mutiny, that there had hardly been any restriction on the punitive power of the Commanding Officers, for the only rules in that respect framed on the eve of army organisation in 1796 provided that non-commissioned officer and soldier shall retire to his quarter or tent at heating the retreat, in default of which he shall be punished according to the nature of offence'. At court martial too, the procedures and composition could be changed as often as possible. Even though no sentence of a court martial, in which the Commanding Officer of a regiment presided, could be executed till the garrison commander or the Governor had confirmed it, in actual practice this confirmation was seldom withheld. But in 1818, this dominating position of the Commanding Officer came to be questioned when forms of procedure were rendered more exact and the garrison commander was authorised to set aside the sentence of a court martial according to his judgment. This, in the eyes of the 'Commissioners' was the first step towards indirectly weakening the power of the Commanding Officer.

Powers Reduced

Though court martial procedures had been enacted in 1818, not until

1828 were regulations compiled for guidance of officers. The Commanding Officers had continued to exercise powers such as dismissing native soldiers and reducing non-commissioned officers, awarding corporal punishments, etc. On September 1, 1828, standing orders for the Bengal Native Infantry were compiled by orders of Lord Comberanere, the Commander-in-Chief, which took away such powers from Commanding Officers as dismissing native officers and reducing non-commissioned officers. The new orders limited their power to discharge the sepoys who, from bodily defects, sickness or accident, became incapable of performing the duties required of a soldier. But in other cases of unfitness for service, the Commanding Officers had to apply to the Commander-in-Chief for discharging sepoys. This implied that the Commanding Officers could not dismiss men as a punishment for offences committed.

It was not very long before attention was paid to abolition of corporal punishment. The Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, ordered on February 25, 1835, against the use of 'rattan' in the army, as he considered a sepoy's character unsuited to corporal punishment. There was great resentment all over India from officers commanding units, but the measure was enforced since it had the sanction of the House of Commons and the backing of a Governor-General and the proceedings were formally recorded in House of Commons Paper No. 319 of 1836. The Commanding Officer's powers were further reduced by an order of the foreign secret department dated August 30, 1845, which limited the infliction of even minor corporal punishments to mutiny, insubordination, using violence against superiors and drunkenness on duty.

Revised Code

Almost simultaneously, the re-enacted Articles of War (of 1845) sanctified a practice by which no Commanding Officer, except by a sentence of court martial, could discharge as punishment a non-commissioned officer or a soldier. The Articles of War of 1847 enacted further that 'no non-commissioned officer shall be reduced to the ranks by the sentence of a court martial, or by order of the Commander-in-Chief of the Presidency to which the soldier shall belong'. The revised code of regulations, published in 1855, took away from the Commanding Officer even the power to discharge men who were physically unfit for service, which the regulations (already mentioned) had granted. All cases even of physical disability subsequently were required to be referred to the Commander-in-Chief of all the three Presidency armies stationed at Calcutta.

It is evident that the Commanding Officers had been made ineffective by the time the Uprising came in 1857. The state of things had so deteriorated that the Commanding Officers did not really 'command' their regiments, because they had no power to punish. Major-General J.L. Mansfield, in 1859, narrated his experience as a commanding officer, before an inquiry appointed to go into the cause of the Mutiny, thus:

If the Commanding Officer was to say to a sepoy, you have committed a fault, you will go for drill for seven days, the man would have power to turn round and say, 'I do not go to drill for seven days, I will be brought to a court martial', and the Commanding Officer has not the power to prevent it. I say with a system like this, it is impossible to command a regiment.

The only way a man could be punished was by a court martial and even in that case the Commanding Officer could use very little discretion. Another General, Pullock of Bengal Presidency Army, also told the 'Commissioners' that he had once ordered a court martial against an individual for 17 charges of serious nature, but the man obtained a pardon from the confirming authority.

Panchayat System

Recent research has shown that to the committee, it was fairly evident that the Mutiny of 1857, which was essentially a Sepoy Mutiny, originated because over the years, the Commanding Officer was so bound by regulations that he had no powers. The committee also noticed that one part of the army, namely, the Punjab Irregular Force, was disciplined and had not taken part in the mutiny. The Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, desired the committee to draw a comparison between the Punjab Irregular Force and the rest of the Bengal Presidency Army. It was readily discovered that the discipline of the Punjab Irregular Force was good and this the committee attributed to the almost paramount powers vested in the officers commanding those units; they could themselves deal with offenders promptly and effectively. Among the native corps, the 'panchayat system' or 'native court martial' was employed. The system had an unwritten sanction behind it and a certain number of native officers, with a Subedar as president of the 'panchayat', was all that composed the native court martial or panchayat. The court, though formed and convened by orders, was merely a private court and it was not 'tacitly' admitted; yet the decisions given were usually binding on both parties. There were no rules for the guidance of a panchayat other than the rules of common sense. The panchayat recorded its findings and recommended sentence to the commanding officer, but the recommendation did not include corporal-punishments, which could, however, be awarded in addition by the Commanding Officer in case of disgraceful offences.

Thus the panchayat or native court martials were quickly organised by commanding officers of the Punjab Irregular Force to deal with offenders. Commanding officers had perfect control over their men which alone accounted for the lack of response to the Mutiny in that part of the army. When a new army came to be organised in place of the Army of the East India Company in 1859, it was appreciated that if recurrence of Mutiny were to be avoided, the commanding officer's hands must be strengthened. With this object in view, 'summary court martial', on lines of panchayats,

was introduced as an experimental measure. In 1869, summary court martial was established as part of the 'legal machinery of the Indian Army'. It continues to exist today, though not without modifications.

Notes and References

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2. *Memoirs* of John Shipp.
3. Col. Crawford's *History of the Indian Medical Service*, Vol. II.
4. *Barlow's Journal* by Basil Lubbock.
S. *The History of Bengal European Regiment* by Lt. Col. P.R. Innes.
6. *Historical Records of First European Regiment.*
7. "Nisi per legale judicium parium suorum, vet per legem terrae."—Vide Magna Carta, Cap. 29, whence this preamble is taken.
8. The sovereignty of the small island of Bombay remained with the Crown of England, only the rights, profits, territories, appurtenances, etc. having been granted to the Company by Charles the 2nd.
9. 53 Geo. III, Cap. 155, ss. 96 and 97.
10. 4 Geo. IV, Cap. 81, s. 63.
11. 3 and 4 Will. IV, Cap. 85.
12. 7 and 8 Vic., Cap. 18; 12 and 13 Vic., Cap. 43.
13. Acts of Governor General in Council-VI of 1850, XXXVI of 1850, III of 1854, X of 1856, VIII of 1857, XXII of 1857, and VI of 1860.
14. Acts of Governor General in Council, XII of 1891, 1 of 1900, 1 of 1901, IX of 1901, XIII of 1904, and V of 1905.

IS. Acts of Governor General in Council, XV of 1914, X of 1917, XI of 1918, XVIII of 1919, II of 1920, XXXVII of 1920, XXXIII of 1923, VIII of 1930, XXXIII of 1934 and VII of 1935.

16. Acts of Governor General in Council IV of 1917 and XVIII of 1918.
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18. A.A., s. 190(8)
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20. A.A., s. 180(2)(a).
21. A.A., s. 190(22).
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14

India and the World Wars

England faced two great wars which threatened not only its vast empire but even its very existence. India's contribution in men, material and money proved of incalculable assistance to Great Britain and her Allies. From a 'Frontier War' standard, British India so mobilized and developed her resources that she was able not only to defend her own borders, but to despatch and maintain a large force overseas who won many laurels for their brave and heroic actions on the battlefield. The Second World War was in reality a continuation of the First World War. The British won the Wars but lost their Indian Empire. *(Ed.)*

A—THE WORLD WAR I

Causes

One of the greatest wars ever waged opened in August, 1914. Austria had always grudged Servia her independence and when, on June 28th, 1914, the Archducke Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria, was murdered at Sarajevo, the Austrians made the murder an excuse to interfere in Servian affairs. War between the two countries resulted. Russia now sided with Servia, and Austria was supported by Germany. France was under a promise to aid Russia in the event of war. Thus, at the beginning of August, France, Servia and Russia were at war with Germany and Austria.

Germany had long prepared for war. She had the largest trained body of soldiers in the world, and was determined to become a great world-power. The wealth and strength of the British Empire had aroused her envy, and the favourite toast of the German navy (which had become the second in the world) was to "The Day" when it should meet British navy. Germany was happy to see Austria pick a quarrel with Servia. If Germany had used her influence in the opposite direction war would have been avoided. But she was glad, of this opportunity of crushing France and Russia, so that when the time came to fight against Great Britain, she would have only odd nation to deal with. But Germany made a miscalculation. Great Britain was on friendly terms with France and Russia,

and would probably have joined them in any event. When Germany marched her troops, however, through Belgium—a neutral country—and ravaged the countryside, British entry into the war was certain. They declared war on Germany on August 4th, 1914.

Theatres of War

The war was truly a world war. On the side of the allies were twenty-two nations ranging from the vast British Empire to the tiny republic of San Marino; on the other side were Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria. Fighting took place in every continent and on every ocean. In Europe the western front stretched from the Alps to the English Channel, the eastern front from the Black Sea to the Baltic Sea; there were extensive campaigns in Palestine, Mesopotamia and East Africa.

The German plan of campaign was to strike quickly at France and overwhelm the French army before Russia could mobilise. The Germans therefore advanced through Belgium; but the brave defence of the fortress of Liege by the Belgians delayed their advance for two days.

Mons and Le Cateau

The British army, in two corps under Haig and Smith-Dorrien respectively, came into contact with the enemy near Mons. Here the gallantry of the "contemptible little army", as the Kaiser called it, held up a numerically superior force for a while, a success which was largely due to the devotion of all too few machine-gunners, who fought until they fell. But the Germans' weight of numbers was so great that the whole Franco-British line had to retreat. Smith-Dorrien turned to fight a bloody rear-guard action at Le Cateau which saved a whole division. By September 4th the Germans had pushed their way beyond the River Maine, were in occupation of some 10,000 square miles of N.E. France and were within 10 miles of Paris.

The Battle of the Maine

Von Kluck now tried, not to take Paris, but to drive Allied armies towards Switzerland. He therefore swung his forces south-east. This act saved France. His right wing had been weakened by the transfer of two corps to meet the Russian invasion in the east, which had begun earlier than Germany had expected. Moreover, Von Kluck had greatly underestimated the strength of the Paris garrison. As soon as he turned, Gallieni, the general in command of the city, flung himself against the exposed right flank of the enemy. The result was that the Germans were obliged to retire to the northern bank of the River Aisne.

The Race to the Sea

Germany now rushed troops towards the Channel, hoping to capture Dunkirk and Calais. She captured Antwerp, but the attempt to break through opposing Douglas Haig forces at *Ypres* failed, the situation being saved by the relief of Gheluvelt (October 31st).

Trench Warfare

Both sides now dug themselves in for the winter. The conditions were very trying. Night-raids, air-raids, aerial-battles, bombing, sniping and thousands of little "affairs" broke the monotony of life amid snow and rat-infested dug-outs.

The Gallipoli Front

Battleships were sent to The Dardanelles in March, 1915. Their aim was to force a way up to Constantinople, whose capture would enable the Allied forces to connect up with Russia as well as separate the Turkish headquarters from their great reserve of the man-power in Asiatic Turkey. The naval attack failed, owing partly to the immense number of floating mines (which the Turks could lay by merely dropping them into the sea at Constantinople and letting them drift along with the current, which flows constantly from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean Sea), but chiefly to shortage of men for landing-parties. In April, after a naval bombardment, an attack was made by a large force under Sir Ian Hamilton. At appalling cost in lives, *Cape Helles* (at the southern end of the peninsula of Gallipoli) and *Anzac Cove* (15 miles farther North, on the western coast) were taken and held. But Allied objective—The Narrows, to the south of Maidos—had not been attained.

In August, in a second attack at Anzac Cove and Suvla Bay (still farther north), Allied troops again performed deeds of heroism until, worn out with fighting and parched with thirst, they halted on the western slope of the ridge which looked down upon the Narrows. In December, the position having been inspected by Lord Kitchener in person, it was decided to evacuate the peninsula. This operation was successfully performed. The Dardanelles campaign failed in its main object. It had, however, kept a quarter-of-a-million Turks occupied, who would have been invaluable to Germany on the western front.

The Palestine Front

Early in the war the Turks prepared to invade Egypt along three lines: towards El Kantara, Ismailia and Suez. In January, 1915, the first serious attack was made, but British warships on the lakes and aeroplanes near El Kantara co-operated with the troops so effectively that the Turks retired in some confusion. Several other attempts were made with as little success; and in August, 1916, after overthrowing 20,000 Turks under German leadership, Archibald Murray decided to carry the war into Palestine. A railway was rapidly constructed along the coast, supplies (especially of water) were thoroughly organised, and cavalry entered El Arish in December 1916.

In March 1917, Dobell's advanced troops entered *Gaza*, but they were surrounded there and captured. Many other unsuccessful attempts to capture Gaza were made, and in June *Allenby* arrived to take command. In October he carried the Turkish main position at Beersheba and, a week

later, occupied Gaza. Cavalry now secured the coastal flank by seizing Jaffa, while other troops occupied Hebron and bestrode the Shechem and Jericho roads to *Jersusalem* which thereupon surrendered, November, 1917. Help was given to the Arabs who were operating on the east of the River Jordan; troops withdrawn to help stem the German advance in France were replaced by Indian troops from Mesopotamia. In September, 1918, the great advance began, and soon the Turks were hemmed in between the Jordan and British cavalry, who had advanced through the *Plain of Esdraelon* (Armageddon). Thousands of Turks were taken prisoner, and Allied victorious advance continued to *Damascus*, which was entered within a fortnight of the commencement of the offensive. *Aleppo* fell to the Arabs on Allenby's right, and the Muslimie railway junction was seized. The armistice with Turkey alone stayed Allied advance upon Alexandretta.

Mesopotamia

In 1914 British and Indian troops were despatched to Mesopotamia to protect the oil-wells of south-western Persia. Success attended the expedition and, after winning at Kurna, General Townshend reached Kut-el-Amara. He was now ordered to attempt what he regarded as an impossible task with the forces at his disposal: to seize Baghdad. He defeated the Turks at Ctesiphon, but his heavy losses obliged him to retire into Kut, where the reinforced Turks besieged him.

Attempts by Aylmer, Gorringe, and Maude to relieve Kut failed, chiefly through inadequate transport and bad weather, and Townshend had at last to surrender (April, 1916) after holding out for nearly five months. Sir Stanley Maude, on the arrival of fresh troops, made thorough preparations for a new offensive; and in January, 1917, began his victorious sweep of the country. Kut, Baghdad and Samarra fell in quick succession, and the Turks retreated towards Mosul, which was on the point of falling into our hands when the Turkish armistice was signed.

The Navy's Share

Throughout the war the Allied retained command of the sea, which alone enabled them to transport men, food and other supplies from distant parts of their scattered sources to the supply centres and from there to the theatres of war. This control of the oceans for over four years, was maintained only by the unceasing vigilance and tireless devotion of the sailors. The few German commerce raiders like the Emden were soon disposed of; and after November, 1914, British navy's work consisted chiefly of blockading Germany, protecting their harbours against German mines and, submarines, escorting troops and convoys, and, especially in 1917 and 1918, hunting submarine raiders.

Few actual battles took place. Von Spee's squadron defeated Cradock's lightly armed squadron off *Coronel*, on the coast of Chile in November, 1914, Cradock going down with his ship. In December, 1914, however, Admiral Sturdee sank four of Von Spee's five armoured cruisers at the battle of the *Falkland Islands*.

The first action in the North Sea was in January, 1915, when Beatty won the battle of Dogger Bank, in which a German battle-cruiser was sunk.

Battle of Jutland

This was the only great naval battle of the war. On May 30, 1916, the German high-seas fleet left its base at Kiel with the object of cutting off Beatty's battle-cruiser squadron which, it was assumed, would be sent to protect Allied light cruisers stationed in the Skager Rack. The next afternoon Beatty's battle-cruisers, together with the 5th Battle Squadron and a large number of small protective craft, engaged the enemy at a range of ten miles. Von Hipper, commanding the enemy battle-cruisers, at once turned southwards. Beatty followed, and a running fight ensued in which opposing destroyer flotillas attempted to torpedo the larger ships. At the end of an hour the German battle fleet under Von Scheer was sighted, and Beatty now turned on his tracks during the main force of the enemy northwards towards his own battle fleet.

As soon as Von Scheer sighted Jellicoe he retreated south-south-east, but Beatty contrived by greater speed to get between the enemy ships and their base. Beatty succeeded in disabling the leading enemy ships, and urged his commander-in-chief to follow him. Jellicoe, however, decided that the risk was too great, so he turned in the opposite direction. The enemy was thus between Jellicoe on the west and Beatty on the east. Von Scheer's dense smoke-clouds and the gathering mist now gave the enemy the opportunity to escape, and by 9 p.m. the escape of the high-seas fleet was completed.

Throughout the night fighting took place between isolated destroyer and light cruiser flotillas, but by daybreak all surviving enemy vessels had got away.

The great trial of strength between the British and German navies was over. Allied losses were the greater, but the fact remains that Germany did not venture out of harbour again. If Jellicoe had acted on Beatty's advice he would probably have destroyed the German feet and thus shortened the war. But success was not a certainty and Jellicoe believed in safety first.

New Weapons introduced

Innumerable new weapons and new methods were introduced during the war as occasion demanded. On land German attacks in mass formation made the increase in the number of machine-guns imperative; gas attacks were partially overcome by the invention of the respirator; trench warfare showed the value of the many types of bomb, which were rendered effective by the introduction of more powerful explosives; the movement of troops was hidden from observation from the air by means of smoke screens; a reversion to the equipment of medieval days is seen in the adoption of the steel helmet; while the invention of an entirely new engine of war, the tank, answered the need for a means clearing obstacles in preparation for infantry attacks.

Air warfare also developed. Observation of enemy movements and spotting for artillery bombing of enemy positions, and the transport of despatches are among the most important of its phases. Before a big offensive the command of the air by means of air battles between fighting planes was striven for. And at times the noise made behind our front line by extensive movements of our tanks was effectually drowned by our own aeroplanes.

The Men who Fought

One of the remarkable features of the war was the wholeheartedness with which British overseas dominions gave men and money. From the self-governing dominions roughly one-tenth of the population answered the call to arms. The Canadians at Vimy, Australians and New Zealanders at Gallipoli, the South Africans at Delville Wood, the Indians in Palestine performed deeds of heroism which are worthy of the military's best traditions; and they all proved, again and again, that they regard comradeship to rise against aggression as a proud possession which is worth fighting for. In the hour of their peril, the Britishers got most valuable aid in men and materials from India which enabled them to survive one of the severest military challenges in their history.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION IN MEN

During the two hundred and fifty years of its existence the Indian Army had taken no part in a European War with the exception of some few troops that were engaged against the French in Southern India, and in Java and the Spice Islands. In 1885 some troops had been sent as far as Malta with a view to their employment in case of a war with Russia, and in the South African War detachments drawn mostly from Indian Regular and Imperial Service Troops Cavalry had been utilised for remount and escort work in that country.

It may not be out of place to mention here that during the course of this war, Indian soldiers fought in such widely separated theatres as France and Belgium, Gallipoli, Salonika, Palestine, Egypt and Sudan, Mesopotamia, Aden and the Red sea littoral, Somaliland, the Cameroons, East Africa, North-West Persia and Kurdistan, South Persia, the Gulf of Oman, the whole length of East Persia from Mekran to Khorasan, Trans-Caspia, North China, and the North-West and North-East Frontiers of India. The mere enumeration of these theatres, covering as they do so a wide range of climatic and other conditions, will of itself convey some idea of the extent and diversity of the obligations undertaken by the then Government of India and help rendered to Great Britain.

From the outbreak of war up to 31st December 1919 the following British and Indian personnel were sent from India on service overseas direct to the theatres enumerated. These figures include personnel sent overseas to the various theatres direct, and do not show transfers as, for instance, the advance into Palestine of a portion of the force from Egypt; nor

do they include Indian troops engaged in hostilities who were already overseas, such as the 36th Sikhs in China who furnished half a battalion towards the British Contingent in the operations round Kiau-Chau. (See table next page.)

CONTRIBUTION IN MATERIAL

India's contribution in materials to the Allied war effort during the Great War I was also very significant. All kinds of munitions including ammunitions, small arms, clothing, boots, tents, jute goods, rivercraft, timber, rations, vehicles, steamers, railway plant and every material required for the maintenance and movement of armies in the field and on lines of communications were provided by India. The normal output of India arsenals, clothing factories and government and private workshops were expanded to meet the needs of the Great War.

On the 1st March 1917 the Indian Munitions Boarad was formed with Sir Thomas Holland as President. Its functions were threefold:

British and India personnel sent from India for overseas service

Theatre	*Combatants*			*Totals*				*Grand total of all ranks British and Indian*
	B.O.s.	*B.O.R.*	*I.O. and Warrant officers*	*I.O.R.*	*Non-combatant Indians*	*British*	*Indian*	
France	2395	18953	1923	87412	49273	20748	138608	
East Africa	928	4681	848	33835	13021	5609	47704	
Mesopotamia	18669	166828	9514	317142	348735	185491	675391	
Egypt	3.188	1771	2208	107743	34075	20259	144026	
Gallipoli	42	185	90	3041	1819	60	4950	
Salonika	86	851	132	6545	3254	171	9931	
Aden	952	1.267	480	19936	5786	9219	26205	
Persian Gulf	991	1019	967	29408	19823	2050	49192	
Total	27251	215356	16162	605062	474789	242607	1096013	1338620

The above figures exclude 42,430 British ranks sent from India to England, all, or nearly all of whom proceeded on service from the United Kingdom

	42,430
Total	1,381,050

(a) to restrict demands on the United Kingdom and later, on the United States of America, for articles which would cause interference with war work in those countries and which could be dispensed with or obtained in India or from elsewhere,
(b) the supply of large quantities of plant and materials to Mesopotamia, East Africa, Egypt and other theatres of war, as well as to the Army and Civil departments in India, and
(c) the development of local industries and manufactures.

Total Indian casualties compiled up to 31st December 1919

Theatre	*Dead All Causes*			*Wounded*			*Missing and prisoners*		
	I.O.	*I.O.R.*	*Foll.*	*I.O.*	*I.O.R.*	*Foll.*	*I.O.*	*I.O.R.*	*Foll.*
France	176	5,316	2,218	404	15,893	144	15	830	4
East Africa	67	2,405	500	59	1,927	17	..	40	3
Mesopotamia	364	17,561	11,624	828	31.330	450	15	1,510	284
Dunsterforce	..	1,151	82	..	15	..	..	..	..
Persia	25	1,779	670	11	454	6	..	1	..
Egypt	74	3,113	555	135	6,286	8	2	158	5
Gallipoli	33	1,591	127	72	3,578	1	..	101	
Aden	7	1,500	79	16	548	4	1	21	3
Muscat	1	39	2	..	16	..	1	25	..
Frontier operations	17	2,245	1,621	65	1,759	24	16	701	26
Grand Total	764	35,313	17,419	1,590	61,806	954	50	3,387	325

Summary of Indian casualties:	
Died from all causes	53,486
Wounded	64,350
Missing and prisoners on 31st December 1919	3,762
GRAND TOTAL	121,598

Note: Prisoners repatriated are not shown.

By the end of September 1918 the value of equipment and stores despatched to the various fronts amounted to about £80,000,000 sterling.

Throughout the war the policy was followed of developing as far as possible the outside manufacture of war stores. Early in the war, such manufacture had to be confined to the near neighbourhood of Ordnance Factories, but in 1916 a beginning was made to extend it systematically. The Ordnance Departments supplied patterns, drawings and specifications. Instructions to guide-manufacture were drawn up, and, as far as possible, tuition was given in methods of manufacture. In many cases Ordnance Factories had to make and supply jigs, special tools and fittings and provide the raw materials. This policy, of course involved the surrender of the bulk of the large and recurring orders and all the simpler manufactures, but it set free the Ordnance Factories plant to meet rush orders and the more specialised demands.

FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION

The financial contributions made by India have also been very considerable.

The monetary assistance which she rendered during the war may conveniently be divided into two categories:

(a) measures taken through the instrumentality of Government, and
(b) private gifts.

Government Measures

India would have been within her legal rights in asking the Home Government to bear the whole cost of the Expeditionary Force and could thus have effected counter-savings; but the Government of India recommended that the country should accept such portion of the cost of the Force as would have fallen upon India had the troops concerned remained there.

This proposal was accepted by His Majesty's Government and Resolutions were passed by both Houses of Parliament, firstly in September, 1914, and again in November, 1914, permitting the payment of the contribution from Indian revenues. In other words, it was decided that India should continue to pay the normal pre-war cost of maintaining those of her troops sent overseas.

To return to India's initial contributions under the Parliamentary Resolutions of September and November 1914, the gross amount payable to the end of 1919-20 was £47.5 millions. The arrangement under which India bore the normal cost of troops in India terminated with effect from the 1st July 1919, in respect of Indian troops, and from 1st April 1920 in respect of British troops. In addition to above a sum of £3.5 millions was paid by India as war gratuities of British officers and men of the normal garrison of India.

At the beginning of 1917 however, the position had sufficiently improved to enable the Government, with the general assent of the Imperial Legislative Council, to offer His Majesty's Government a lump sum of £100 millions as a special contribution by India towards the expenses of the war. The offer was gratefully accepted by His Majesty's Government, and a Resolution was passed by the Houses of Parliament on the contribution from Indian revenues. Towards this contribution nearly £75 millions were raised in India by the war loans of 1917 and 1918 and as regards the balance, the Government of India took over the liability for interest on an equivalent amount of the British Government war loan.

In September 1918 a Resolution was passed by the Legislative Council of the Government of India, offering a further contribution to His Majesty's Government towards the expenses of the war. This Resolution recommended that, so long as financial conditions permitted, the following charges should be borne by the revenues of India, namely:

(1) With effect from the 1st April 1918, the ordinary charges of 200,000 Indian troops in excess of the normal garrison, and with effect from 1st April 1919 of a further 100,000 men.

(2) The cost of certain war allowance in the shape of an initial gratuity and recurring bonus, which was granted to Indian troops with effect from 1st June 1918, so far as it related to the normal garrison of Indian troops and the additional body of troops referred to in clause (1) above.

(3) The cost from 1st April 1917 of the temporary accommodation provided for the additional Indian troops raised during the war.

(4) The cost of the European section of the Indian Defence Force raised during the war.

(5) Certain non-effective charges in respect of (a) British and Indian troops despatched from India for service in connection with the war, and (b) British troops employed in the war who, though not despatched from India, had previously served in that country. Under the Resolutions of 1914 these charges were to be borne by His Majesty's Government. Under the terms thereof a further contribution was paid from Indian revenues towards the expenses of the war amounting to £13.1 millions.

Thus the contributions from Indian revenues towards the cost of the war amounted to £146.2 million to the end of 1919-20. In addition India was compelled to incur heavy military expenditure. In this connection the lump figures of military expenditures, exclusive of the cost of special services and special contributions to British Government speak for themselves.

Heavy expenditure was incurred on the provision of mechanical transport, armoured cars, armoured trains, machine guns, motor ambulances, aircraft, etc. The expenditure on these measures amounted to about £2-1/4 millions by the end if 1918-19. The introduction of mechanical transport, led to large expenditure on the improvement of frontier roads, which cost about £800,000 by the end of 1918-19.

Private Gifts

These gifts covered a wide range. They included lump sums towards the general expenses of the war; money for the provision of aeroplanes, tanks, motor ambulances, mechanical transport, refrigerating plant, upkeep of war hospitals, maintenance of Convalescent Homes both in India and overseas, construction of religious edifices for troops on field services, the purchases, equipment and maintenance of the Hospital Ship "Loyalty", for the provision of motor boats and launches, and for measures to counter the German sub-marine campaign. Enormous sums were given to the Imperial Indian Relief Fund and to the various war and relief funds opened in this country. Indians also subscribed lavishly to various funds in Great Britain, including provision for the relief of British and Indian prisoners of war and monetary gifts to munition workers in England. Nor were the needs of Allied countries forgotten.

The total amount subscribed to the Central Imperial Indian Relief Fund from the date of its inception up to the 30th June 1921, was Rs. 2,33,186,000. The interest upon the sums placed at fixed deposit amounted to Rs. 19,12.400 bringing the total income of the Central Fund up to Rs. 2,52,310,000 or to £ 1,682,066 at Rs. 15 to £ 1 sterling.

B—THE WORLD WAR II

Chronology of War

September, 1939

1: Germany attacked Poland. Poland invaded Germany.
3: Britain and France declared war on Germany. Australia and New Zealand joined in declaration of war on Germany. Sinking of Athenia off North-West Iceland.
6: South Africa declared war on Germany.
10: Canada declared war on Germany.
17: Russia invaded Poland.
27: Fall of Warsaw and collapse of Poland.

November

13-17: Battle of the River Plate.
20: Germany begins to use magnetic mines.
30: Russia invades Finland.

December

17-31: Arrival of Canadian troops in Britain and of Indian Army in France. More Canadian and Indian troops continued to arrive till April, 1940.

March, 1940

12: Russia, victorious, signs treaty of peace with Finland.

April

9: Germans invade Denmark and Norway.
10-14: Battles of Narvik. HM battleships destroy six enemy supply ships, an ammunition ship and eleven destroyers.

May

10: British forces occupy Iceland. Mr. Chamberlain resigns and Mr. Churchill forms a new government. Germany opens the offensive by invading Holland and Belgium.
28th to 3rd June: Battles at Dunkirk with very heavy British losses.

June

10: Italy declares war on France and Britain.
14: Germans enter Paris.
18: Waterloo Day.
21: The Germans grant France an armistice and hostilities end. France invaded by Allies on 6th June, 1944 (D Day) and liberated after a hard struggle against German forces.

August

8-18: Attacks by air on British ports, bases and shipping. 8 to 31st October. Constant attacks by R.A.F. on Germans bases. Bombing intensified by R.A.F. in 1941 and early 1942 when 7,745 attacks on 1,312 Axis targets were delivered.

September

6-30: Day light attacks on London.

October

28: Italy attacks Greece.

December

11: Lord Wavell opens great offensive. Sidi Barrani captured.

January, 1941

22: Tobruk captured.

February

5: Benghazi captured.
27: Siege and capture of Keren by mainly Indian Army troops.

April

3: Benghazi lost. In June, Germany wins important battle at Knights bridge. Tobruk falls. On 8th November, 1942 Allied forces landed in North-West Africa and recaptured many lost positions. On 7th April, 1943 they made contact with Eighth Army from Libya under General Montgomery. All Axis forces in Africa surrendered. (13th May 1943). Axis resistance ceased in Sicily and Islands. (17th August 1943). Rome fell to Allies (4th June, 1944).
6: German forces invaded Yugoslavia and Greece.
17: An Indian Brigade arrives in Iraq.
27: German occupies Athens.

May

3: British Empire Forces enter Baghdad; oil pipeline secured.
20: Germany invades Crete with airborne gliders.

June

8-14: British Empire forces occupy Syria.
22: Germany attacks Russia with three-pronged drive on (1) Leningrad, (2) Moscow, (3) Caucasus. After several furious battles Berlin fell to the Second White Russian Army Group of Marshal Zhukov. (2nd May, 1945) The whole 8th German Allied Forces by sea, land and air surrendered unconditionally to the Allies on 7th May, 1945.
22-28: Rumania, Hungary and Finland declare war on Russia.

July

1: Germans capture Riga.

10 to 19th Sept.: Germans advance in Ukaraine and occupy Kiev.

August

18: Leningard besieged.

25 to 19th September: British and Russian forces occupy Persia.

October

5 to 6th December: The Battle of Moscow of winter 1941 ends in defensive success for Russia. From 6 December to 15 January, 1942 Russian counter-attack repulses Germans. From 16 July 1942 to 2 February, 1943, heroic resistance by Russians at Stalingrad.

November

30: Conscription for women introduced in England.

The Far East

December, 1941

7: Japan launches air attacks on U.S. bases at Pearl Harbour. Other air attacks on Manila, Shanghai, Malaya, Thailand and Hongkong.

8: U.S. and Britain declare war on Japan. Japanese land in North Malaya—Indian troops in action.

9: Japanese land in Philippines.

10: The *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* sunk.

11: Italy and Germany declare war on U.S.

17: Japanese land on Sarawak.

19: Japanese land in Hongkong.

22: Wavell arrives in Chungking and discusses Far East strategy with Chiang Kai-shek.

25: Hongkong surrenders.

January, 1942

1: United States, Britain, Russia, China and 22 other anti-Axis nations sign a joint declaration at Washington pledging the use of their full resources against the Axis.

3: Roosevelt and Churchill announce appointment of Wavell as the Supreme Commander of the South-West Pacific area.

February

12: Announcement that India is invited to be represented on Pacific War Council and War Cabinet.

15: Singapore falls.

24: Indias' Commander-in-Chief takes up the control of Burma operation.

March

2: Wavell reassumes the appointment of Commander-in-Chief, India.
6: Java and Sumatra occupied fully by Japanese.
10: Japanese take Rangoon.
12: British garrison withdrawn from Andaman Islands.

April

5: A large force of Japanese aircraft attack Colombo.
6: First air raids on Indian towns—Japanese naval planes bomb Vizagapatam and Cocanada.

May

1: British evacuate Mandalay.
5: British forces land in Madagascar.
8: Japanese capture Akyab.

June

3-6: Battle of Midway.
10: A Committee of Viceroy's Executive Council, known as War Resources Committee, established to mobilize and direct the economic war effort of India.
13: Japanese raid Port Darwin.

July

30: Japanese decision to instal new puppet Government of Burma.

August

7: American forces land in the Solomons.

September

12: Japanese advance checked in Papua.

November

11: Epic fight of H.M.I.S. Bengal with two Japanese destroyers while escorting Dutch tankers.

December

20: Japanese planes raid Calcutta for the first time.

January, 1943

4: U.S. forces on Guadalcanal capture Japanese positions near Mount Austen.
14: Churchill and Rosevelt meet at Casablanca to discuss the "offensive campaigns of 1943."

15: Allies launch fresh offensive in New Guinea. Three Japanese bombers shot down over Calcutta.
24: End of Japanese resistance in Papua announced.

February

9: Tokyo announces Japanese evacuation of Guadalcanal. Chaing Kai-shek arrives in Delhi.
13: Inauguration of Indian Air Training Corps Scheme at Aligarh University announced.
22: Sea-borne raid on Myebone, south of Akyab, by Allied forces from India.

March

2-4: Japanese convoy in Bismarck Straits attacked by Allied bombers—10 enemy warships and 12 transports sunk; 102 planes put out of action.

April

1: Japanese bombers attack Feni in S.E. Bengal: five Japanese planes shot down.

May

11: Churchill, accompanied by Field Marshal Wavell and Air Chief Marshal Sir Richard Peirse, Air Force Commander-in-Chief in India, arrives in Washington. American forces land on Japan's Aleutian island base of Attu.

June

19: Auchinleck assumed charge as Commander-in-Chief of India.

August

6: End of all organised Japanese resistance at Munda announced.

October

7: Mountbatten arrives in Delhi.
12: Madras has its first air raid.
30: Forty-five Japanese aircraft destroyed in heavy Allied raid on Rabaul.

November

1: American forces invade Bougainville Island.
22: Cairo Conference—Roosevelt, Chiang and Churchill meet.

December

5: Japanese air raid on Calcutta.

19: All combat units of R.A.F. and U.S.A.A.F. in S.E. Asia theatre combined into a single Allied Air Force under command of Air Chief Marshal Sir Richard Peirse.

January, 1944

10: Allies capture Maungdaw in Burma.
12: Pacific War Council meets in Washington.
24: Lt. Gen. Slim appointed Commander of the 14th Army.
31: Allied forces carry out first land fighting with Japanese in Dutch New Guinea. Americans land at several points on Marshal Islands and establish beachheads in spite of heavy Japanese resistance.

February

4: A Japanese aircraft bombs Orissa coast and Vizagapatam.
16-17: U.S. Fleet attacks Japanese base at Truk: 18 Japanese ships sunk and 201 planes destroyed.
28: Allied victory in Arakan reported—Japanese plan to push into India foiled: 14th Army routs strong enemy force.

March

6: First U.S. troops go into action in North Burma.
22: Japanese raiding columns enter Manipur State. Japanese pushed back by Allies in Chin Hills.

April

2: Japanese troops cross Imphal-Kohima Road.
13: Japanese attacks on Kohima repulsed.
16: S.E. Asia Command H.Q. shifted to Kandy.

May

2: A Japanese submarine sunk in Indian Ocean by R.A.F. Bombers

June

18: 353 Japanese carrier-borne aircraft shot down while attacking U.S. Fleet at Saipan. Japanese capture Changsha, capital of Human province.
22: Kohima-Imphal Road completely cleared of Japs.

July

18: Tokyo announcement that Tojo has relinquished post of Chief of Army General Staff.
19: Battle of Imphal ends with victory for 14th Army.
29: U.S. Super-Fortresses bomb Anshan, Japanese steel centre in Manchuria.

August

10: End of all organised Japanese resistance on Guam announced.
17: Mainpur cleared of the Japanese.
20: It is announced that the last Japanese fighting force has been driven out of India.

September

11: Attack by U.S. aircraft on a Japanese convoy near Philippines resulting in the sinking of 52 enemy ships, announced.
12: Churchill-Roosevelt meeting at Quebec.
14: Allied landings on Halmahere and Palau islands.

October

19: Indian troops of the 14th Army capture Tiddim.
28: C.B.I. theatre split into two commands: Lt.-Gen. Daniel Sultan appointed Commander of American forces in India-Burma theatre and Maj.-Gen. A.C. Wedemeyer as Chief of Staff to Gen. Chiang Kai-shek.

November

4: Lt.-Gen. Sir Oliver Leese appointed to command 11th Army Group in S.E. Asia.
7: Fifth Indian Division captures Kennedy Peak.
9: Indian troops capture Japanese strong hold of Fort White.
10: Chinese troops cross the Irrawaddy.

December

16: American troops land on Mindoro Island, in the Philippines. In Burma Allied Forces link up east of Chindwin.
28: Indian troops occupy Foul Point at the tip of Mayu Peninsula.

January, 1945

1: Indian troops occupy Rathedaung.
3: 14th Army troops occupy Yeu, 70 miles from Mandalay.
5: British and Indian troops recapture Akyab Island and Akyab.
7: Indian troops enter Shwebo.
26: In Burma a third landing is made by Indian troops, on Cheduba Island S.W. of Ramree.

February

16: 1,500 Allied planes attack Tokyo for nine hours.
20: Roosevelt and Churchill met at Alexandria on way back from Yalta.
23: Turkey declares war on Japan and Germany.

March

1: Iran declares war on Japan. Saudi Arabia declares war on Germany and Japan.
3: Last Japanese remnants in Manila wiped out by Allies.
15: U.S. flag hoisted over Iwojima.
20: Allies capture Mandalay.

April

1: Americans land on Okinawa.
5: Koiso Cabinet resigns. Moscow Radio announces end of Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact.
7: Japan's biggest battleship, the 45,000-ton Yamato, sunk.
11: Spain breaks off diplomatic relations with Japan.
16: Capture of Taungup, last Japanese coastal supply base in Arakan, by 15th Indian Corps, announced.
21: 14th Army drive towards Rangoon.
25: The United Nations Conference opens at San Francisco.

May

1: Following earlier landing by paratroops Allied troops land south of Rangoon.
3: Allied troops enter Rangoon. Capture of Pegu by 14th Army announced.
4: 14th Army troops occupy Rangoon.

June

13: Japanese resistance in Northern Okinawa ends.
26: Fifty nations sign World Security Charter.

July

4: Korea bombed for first time by Allies.
5: End of Philippine campaign announced.
15: Italy's decision to declare war on Japan announced.
17: Big Three meeting opens in Potsdam.
26: Declaration from Potsdam calling upon Japan to "cease resistance or be destroyed."
28: 30,000-ton Japanese battleship *Hyugo* sunk by Allies.

August

9: Russia at war with Japan. Russians cross into Manchuria and capture two towns. Nagasaki hit by atomic bomb.
10: Japanese Government's surrender offer. Russian troops invade Korea.
15: Japanese surrender.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION IN MEN

A. Indian Armed Forces as in October 1939

I. Indian Army

—22 Cavalry and Armoured Regiments including 4 Bodyguards Units.

4 Batteries of Field Artillery.

28 Sapper and Miner Companies, including Field Troops and Divisional Headquarters Companies.

113 Battalions of Infantry, including 17 Training Battalions, and Gurkha Battalions, but excluding 20 Training Companies of Gurkha Rifles.

A total of 194,373 officers, other ranks, non-combatants etc., in India and overseas, but excluding Indian States Forces, auxiliary and irregular forces, all British Other Ranks and British Officers of the British Service.

II. Air Force

One Army Co-operation Squadron.

A total of 285 officers and airmen.

B. Indian Armed Forces as in August 1945

I. Indian Army

III With a total personnel strength of 1,346, excluding civilians etc.

—19 Cavalry and Armoured Regiments, including 2 Indian States Forces regiments serving under the Crown.

207 Batteries of Artillery of all types.

107 Companies of Indian Engineers, including Field Companies, Field Park Companies and Field Squadrons but excluding all laundry, pipeline companies, etc.

268 Battalions of Infantry, including 32 Indian States Forces and 8 Gurkha Battalions serving under the Crown, but excluding Independent and Garrison Companies.

There was a total of 2,065,554, officers, other ranks, non-combatants, etc., in India and overseas, including 16,351 men of the Indian States Forces serving overseas, but excluding all British Units as on 1.7.45.

II. Indian Air Force

Three Fighter Reconnaissance Squadrons.

Two Ground Attack Squadrons.

Two Light Bomber Squadrons.

Two Fighter Squadrons.

A total of 29,201 officers, airmen and enrolled followers but excluding civilians and temporary followers.

III. The Royal Indian Navy

5 Sloops (three of them commissioned before 1922).
1 Survey Ship.
1 Patrol Vessel.
1 Steam Trawler.

IV. The Royal Indian Navy

The following were the vessels in commission or about to be commissioned into the R.I.N.

6 Modern Sloops.
3 Frigates.
4 Corvettes.
4 "Bathhurst" class Minesweepers.
13 "Bangor" class Minesweepers.
18 Trawlers.
4 Motor Minesweepers.
1 Landing Ship Infantry (Large).
1 Coastal Force Depot Ships.
4 Old Sloops.
2 Store Ships.
I Salvage Vessel.
4 Old gun-boats.
1 Mobile Wiping and Deperming Unit.
11 Vessels of the Coastal Forces, organised into three Flotilas.
2 Detached boats for anti-submarine and Torpedo training.
41 Craft in the Landing Craft Wing.
4 L.C.A. Flotillas.
3 L.C.W. Formations.
With a total personnel strength of 30,478, excluding civilians.

Indian Army Battle Casualties

Indian Army battle causalities from the outbreak of war on September 1, 1939 to February 28, 1945, totalled 149,225. This figure does not include 5,835 other ranks of the Hongkong and Singapore Royal Artillery.

These figures are given in a statement issued by G.H.Q. (India), which covers every theatre of war in which Indian troops have played a part—from the United Kingdom in the west to Hongkong in the east.

The total of 149,225 is made up as follows: killed 15,291; wounded missing 10,371; prisoners of war 51,802; believed prisoners of war 21,056.

The greatest number of causalities (62,175) occurred in Malaya shortly after Japan's entry into the war; the figure is made up largely of prisoners of war (38,860) and believed prisoners of war (20,196). Killed numbered 285, wounded 807, missing 2,027.

Next to Malaya is Burma with 40,458. More than half (24,178) of the causalities were wounded; killed numbered 1,128; missing 7,389, prisoners of war 763.

Third in the list comes Italy, with 22,497, of which the great majority (17,314) were wounded; killed totalled 4,255. Missing and prisoners of war were 467 and 461 respectively.

In North Africa

In North Africa casualties numbered 15,248 with more than half of this total (9,792) prisoners of war. Killed numbered 1,299, wounded 3,738, missing 419.

The severity of the fighting in Sudan and Eritrea is indicated by the number of wounded (4,017) and killed (731). The only other casualties in this theatre was one prisoner of war. In nearby Somaliland nine were killed and 28 wounded.

Paiforce (Iraq and Iran), through which ran a vital lifeline to Russia, cost 72 killed, 96 wounded and one missing. In Palestine and Syria 86 were killed and 287 wounded. Total casualties in Greece were 314, made up of 38 killed, 216 wounded, 60 missing.

Of the 499 casualties sustained at sea there were 378 killed, three wounded, seven missing and 111 prisoners of war. The combined total for France and the United Kingdom is 319, made up of four killed, eight wounded, one missing, and 306 prisoners of war.

The details given do not include those for Indian other ranks serving in the Hongkong and Singapore Royal Artillery. They were: In Malaya, 1,511 missing and 2,498 prisoners of war; in Hongkong, two killed, 1,404 missing, 420 prisoners of war.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION IN MATERIAL

Long before the full power of Britain and America's aid to the forces in the Middle East became effective, India was almost wholly responsible for the supply of bulk stores to the Mediterranean theatre. When certain steel shipments were lost *en route* from the United Kingdom, India shipped 7,000 tons of steel sheets rolled in this country without delay for the manufacture of anti-tank mines. Their early arrival in Egypt enabled vast minefields to be constructed in the Middle East.

Steel pipes carried water across the arid desert; Indian engineers constructed the railway linking Mersa Matruh with Tobruk and at one time India was solely responsible for the supply of rolling stock, locomotives, etc. to the Middle East. India, too, supplied timber for railway sleepers, jetties, lorries ammunition boxes, telegraph poles and for a hundred and one other uses. From India's naval yards came many assault and self-propelling landing craft. New industries were developed in this drive to supply armies. Here are a few examples: electrical cables of many kinds, electric fans, water valves and pumps, porcelain cleats, insulators and fuse-holders. A new industry of plastics was started, too, to make bakelite lamp-holders and ceiling roses.

The supply of dry batteries and cells was an outstanding contribution

in this field. Communication between aircraft from air to ground and *vice versa* depends largely on the efficiency of the batteries the planes carry. Shipments to the Middle East from the United Kingdom by the long Cape route impaired the batteries' effective life, and arrangements for the production of a particular type of battery required for the R.A.F. were therefore begun in India during the latter part of 1941. India supplied millions of cells for the R.A.F. alone. If other services are taken into consideration, the number of batteries supplied would reach astronomical figures.

India supplied nearly 90 per cent of the tents in Egypt and Libya when 63 new tent factories were established in 1940. An indication of the phenomenal growth of this industry can be gathered from the fact that tentage contracts placed in 1939-40 were valued at approximately Rs. 1 crore; in 1940-41 they totalled Rs. 8.3 crores; in 1941-42 they increased to Rs. 13 crores; and purchases for 1942-43 amounted to Rs. 16 crores. A great increase in the manufacture of parachutes and of Supply Dropping parachutes took place in 1944. The peak year for the supply of tailored items of clothing was 1943, when in one month no fewer than 12,000,000 were made. In the fifth year of the war Indian Ordnance clothing factories supplied just under 7,000,000 items a month. Eight ordnance factories employed 90,000 people directly, while indirectly were the thousands employed by tailoring contractors throughout India.

The first Indian-built armoured vehicle was produced early in 1941, and in the fifth year of war actual deliveries to the Army and Air Force approximated to the total of four years' previous deliveries.

Before the war there were only 5,000 armoured vehicles in service; by the end of 1943 there were over 100,000. Thousands of special chassis have been obtained from Canada and U.S.A. under lend-lease and assembled by Indian work-men. The bodies for these chassis have been completely manufactured in India.

As regards medical stores, a few figures are: Over 50,000 stretchers, more than a million blankets, 250,000 mosquito nets, 1,500,000 water-testing tablets, and 160 tons of anti-mosquito cream, as well as 336,000 ounces of castor oil were supplied. Indeed, India's contribution of medical stores covered 1,500 items.

In regard to rubber shortage India greatly helped to solve the problem by strictly conserving rubber and tyres, by stimulating production of rubber plantations, and by starting factories for reclaiming rubber. New plants for the manufacture of tyres, respirators, special types of house, etc. were established, and several factories previously making footwear were converted for the manufacture of war requirements. In 1941 over seven and a half million pairs of footwear were produced; in 1942 this figure rose to nearly sixteen and a quarter millions. The Government Harness and Saddlery factory, producing web equipment, paulins and other canvas goods, expanded its staff from 2,000 to 18,000 men, and the combined total output of the headquarters, branch factories and contractors was valued at

about Rs. 15-20 crores per annum; practically the whole of this was derived from indigenous sources.

Remarkable increases occurred under the heading of "Miscellaneous Stores," for whereas in terms of value, the value of such stores supplied in 1940-41 amounted to Rs. 71 lakhs, the figure for the following year was Rs. 488 lakhs. Among the items under this head were bicycles, sewing machines, spring balances, fire-fighting equipment, spirit lamps, tommy cookers, electric bulbs, boot polishes, mustard and cashew nut oil, crash helments, jultac containers for dubbin, safety razor holders, blades, etc.

Soon after the outbreak of war it was realised that India had to play a larger part in the production of armaments than had been anticipated under the Chatfield Plan. To meet Britain requirements for 21 new projects, including alloy steels for guns and small arms, gun forgings, bayonets, light machine guns, gun carriages, shells, fuzes and primers, high explosives, cordite, toluene and motor benzol were undertaken.

With the entry of Japan into the war came the Transplantation Plan, which involved the building of five new Ordnance factories and the expansion of two of the factories under the Eastern Group plan. Further expansion of the production of armaments, new projects, including the maintenance of imported artillery equipment, aircraft instruments, etc. were undertaken. The number of Ordnance factories operating in India went three times the number at the beginning of the war.

On the engineering side a new steel works for the production of alloy steels was brought into production, and new rolling mills were installed. A 2,000 ton forging press for guns, including anti-aircraft guns, went into operation. New types of shells, including various armour-piercing anti-tank types were produced, and a plant established for making light machine guns. Steel factories provided steel suitable for the latest type of field guns and barrels, ammunition and bombs.

Railway and trade workshops reinforced the ordnance factories for the manufacture of components The production of the 4.5 inch howitzer and 25-pounder shell forgings was established in railway workshops, and orders for no less than 437 items normally manufactured in Ordnance factories were placed outside. At the outbreak of war there were about 600 such workshops known to be available. Some 1,500 engineering workshops were then being used—840 for general engineering items, over 300 for small items, and 345 (plus 20 railway workshops) for munition components. Even the jute industry was harnessed, thus providing a feeder service for munitions parts. The mills concentrated on the manufacture of base plates and transit plugs for shells, cast iron for defence uses, and component parts for armoured vehicles. Their average production rose to 200,000 units per month, which all was utilized for the war.

FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION

The final victory, with the end of the war with Japan, completed

nearly six years of war finance. The mounting scale of expenditure particularly Defence expenditure; which became accentuated with the outbreak of war in the East, was successfully managed with increased taxation and borrowing.

After the outbreak of war with Germany in September, 1939, revenue expenditure began progressively to increase. It increased from Rs. 85.15 crores in 1938-39 to Rs. 94.57 crores in 1939-40, Rs. 114.18 crores in 1940-41 and Rs. 147.26 crores in 1941-42. The rise was, however, moderate and it became spectacular only after the outbreak of war with Japan. Expenditure charged to revenue aggregated Rs. 288.90 crores in 1942-43—the first financial year after the outbreak of the war—Rs. 439.85 crores in 1943-44 and Rs. 512.65 crores in 1944-45.

This phenomenon was particularly true of Defence expenditure. It (net revenue expenditure) moderately increased from Rs. 46.18 crores in 1938-39 to Rs. 49.54 crores in 1939-40, Rs. 73.61 crores in 1940-41 and Rs. 103.93 crores in 1941-42. From 1942-43 onwards the rate of increase was striking. In that year, the net Defence expenditure amounted to Rs. 214.62 crores. It increased to Rs. 358.40 crores in 1943-44 and to Rs. 397.23 crores in 1944-45.

The Main Reason

"The main reason for the increase in Defence expenditure is obvious. According to the Financial Settlement, India had to pay the cost of "Indian War Measures", i.e., such war measures as can be regarded as purely Indian liabilities by reason of their having been undertaken by India in her own interest". Early in 1942, the Japanese advanced to the very borders of India in the East and remained there throughout 1942 and 1943. Early in 1944, they crossed into India itself and infiltrated into portions of Assam and Manipur.. The enemy was finally defeated by the Allied arms and forced rapidly to retrace his steps till he was pushed out of Burma.

"It is thus clear that, in so far as India had firstly to make preparations to meet the threat on her borders and then successfully to repel an actual invasion of the country, the cost entailed by these measures, undertaken in her own interests, fell on her shoulders and contributed to the spectacular rise in Defence expenditure from 1942-43 onwards."

South East Asia Command

The South East Asia Command was set-up in 1943. The responsibilities of this new Command were mainly the direction and co-ordination of the offensive based on India against Japan; they also included the security and local defence of India within a relative small area on India's North-Eastern frontier. While all responsibility for actual operations against Japan thus passed out of India's direct control, she was, at the same time, entrusted with weighty responsibilities in respect of the training and maintenance of the sea, land and air forces required for the grand offensive which was planned with this country as the main base.

But the setting up of this new Command did not of itself diminish India's liability for Defence expenditure. The allocation of Defence expenditure between India and the U.K. continued to be governed by the principles of the Financial Settlement, and neither the developments in the war situation nor the establishment of the new Command rendered it necessary to depart from these principles. In accordance with those principles, India's liability for the cost of forces serving within her geographical frontier was subject to the condition that such forces were both necessary and available for local defence purposes. The strengths of forces for such purposes at any time were subject to maximum limits indicated by the Defence authorities from time to time.

Cost of Burma Offensive

The question whether India had to bear any portion of the expenditure entailed in the liberation of Burma was answered as follows by Sir Jeremy Raisman in his reply to budget criticisms in the Central Assembly in March 1944:

"It is true and it is obvious that Defence expenditure has increased. But the reasons for it are not far to seek. It is not due to the fact, for instance, that troops serving in the Arakan or troops employed in the offensive war, are being charged to India. The cost of all troops serving in Burma is borne by H.M.G. . . If they are American forces, their cost is borne by the U.S.A."

With the entry of America into the war and India becoming an important base of operations against Japan, India began to receive large-scale and increasing Lend-Lease aid from America. From 1942 she was admitted to the benefits of Lend-Lease along with the U.K. and other members of the Commonwealth. Help was received from America in the shape of medical stores, ordnance stores, motor vehicles and spares, steel, provisions, lubricants, machine tools, machinery, electrical equipment, A.R.P. stores, radio sets, oil pipe line and machinery, ferro-alloys, locomotives, dock and harbour equipments, aircraft parts, chemicals, scientific instruments, etc.

The total amount of supplies and services made to the Indian theatre under Lend-Lease arrangements up to the end of 1944-45 is estimated at Rs. 515 crores. The value of such of those supplies and services as India, but for Lend-Lease, would have had to provide at her own expense is Rs. 150 crores.

Reciprocal Aid

With India as a main base of operations against Japan large American forces were naturally stationed in this country. India extended reciprocal aid to them, acting on the principle of the mutual aid. The goods and services relating to this aid took, broadly speaking, the following three main forms:

1. Reciprocal Aid to U.S. forces in India in the shape of rations, clothing, ordnance and other stores, the construction of accommodation, airfields and connected works, and the provision of transportation, communications and maintenance facilities of various kinds.
2. Reciprocal Aid to U.S. shipping using Indian ports in the shape of port dues of all kinds, ship repairs, etc.
3. Available raw materials and available foodstuffs, such as tea, required by the J.S. Government directly for war purposes.

The amount of reciprocal aid which India rendered to the U.S. was about Rs. 1.24 crores from the beginning of the war up to the end of 1944-45. (This includes expenditure charged to capital.)

Revenue and Borrowings

The mounting war expenditure, accentuated by the war in the East, was met by expanding revenue, increased taxation and large-scale borrowings. The total revenue during the six years of war amounted to Rs. 1113 crores. The aggregate of taxes on income, including corporation tax and E.P.T., increased from Rs. 17.28 crores in 1938-39 to Rs. 210.00 crores in 1944-45 (revised). Excise revenue was buoyant, new sources being tapped. In 1938-39 the yield of Central Excise duties amounted to Rs. 8.66 crores; in 1944-45 (revised) it was Rs. 39.07 crores. The net contributions of the P.&T. and the Railways were Rs. 28.44 crores and Rs. 126.43 crores, respectively, during the war period.

Total borrowings from the beginning of the war up to the end of January 1945 aggregated Rs. 833 crores. Investments in small savings were not encouraging in 1941-42 and 1942-43, when there were net withdrawals by the public of Rs. 14 crores and Rs. 3½ crores respectively. But the position improved from the later months of 1943 when there were net deposits at the rate of Rs. 2½ crores a month. The same tendency continued in 1944 and 1945 when the rate of net deposits improved to Rs. 3 crores a month.

When the war was over, attention was naturally focussed on problems of post-war finance. War had been financed satisfactorily. Would it be possible to finance post-war plans of development in the same manner? An answer to this question was furnished by Sir Jeremy Raisman in his 1944 and 1945 budget speeches.

Total Resources

"Under certain conditions of national and international effort and the maintenance of a high scale of taxation, to which war had accustomed us, he visualised in the first 'effective' quinquennium after the war total revenue resources to the tune of Rs. 500 crores for financing post-war development schemes. A policy of all-out borrowing, in accordance with the technique developed during the war, would, in his opinion, give another Rs. 500 crores for the purpose."

His calculations excluded direct private investment, which was estimated at yet another Rs. 500 crores by the second report of the Reconstruction Committee of Council. Thus the total resources estimated as available for reconstruction and development in the first effective quinquennium of the post-war period amounted to Rs. 1,500 crores. This, again, excluded the resources of the Provincial and State Governments.

Items of taxation which formed additional sources of revenue in the post-war period were, according to Sir Jeremy, estate duty on property other than agricultural property, agricultural income-tax, customs (expected to be buoyant for a number of years), central excise and sales tax.

15

The Departure

The vast British Indian Empire built and kept up mainly with the help of military power ended on 15th August, 1947 when India and Pakistan became independent sovereign states. On 17th August withdrawal of British forces started and continued till the end of February 1948. Contigents of 1st Bn. Royal Scot Fusiliers and 2nd Bn. East Lancashire Regiment were the last British troops to leave Delhi when on 19th December, 1947 Lord Mountbatten, Governor-General of India took the salute at a Farewell Parade. *(Ed.)*

Last to Leave

The band of the 1st Battalion the Somerset Light Infantry played "Vande Mataram" in salutation to the country they were leaving, just before they, the last battalion of British troops to leave India, got into launches on Feb. 28 at the Gateway of India to embark on a troopship, the Empress of Australia, anchored in midstream. An R.I.N. band and the band of the Royal Bombay Sappers and Miners played "God Save the King." This ceremonial parade marked the closing down of the Headquarters, British Forces in India.

H.E. the Governor of Bombay, Sir Maharaj Singh, addressed the Battalion and Major-General L.G. Whistler, Commander of the British Forces in India, made a suitable reply. A presentation was made by Maj.-General S.M. Shrinagesh, Adjutant General, Indian Army, on behalf of Army Hedquarters, and Bombay Area also made a presentation. Lady Maharaj Singh presented a flag of the Indian Union to the Senior Sister of the Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service, who was leaving with the Battalion.

The Indian units which took part in the ceremony were the 1-5th Royal Gurkha Rifles (which fought in Italy), 3-5th Royal Gurkha Rifles (Burma, Malaya, Java), 3rd Indian Grenadiers (Burma), 2nd Royal Battalion the Sikh Regiment (North Africa and Italy), the 1st Mahratta Light Infantry Western Desert, (Italy and Japan), and crews of R.I.N. vessels who had seen action in the Bay of Bengal during World War II.

The 1st Somerset Light Infantry (Prince Albert's) first came to India in 1822 when was known as the 13th Regiment of Foot.

The 1st Battalion of the British Army to arrive in India was the Dorsetshire Regiment (39th Foot) who landed in Madras in September 1754.

Addressing senior officers at Army Headquarters, India on Feb. 18, Maj.-Gen. L.G. Whistler said, "In the future we shall watch you with great sympathy and with great pride. We pride ourselves that we have helped in what has taken place. I, representing today the British soldier—the fighting man of Britain—wish you the very best of luck in the future. I know your responsibilities are terribly heavy now and I feel that you will succeed in the task ahead of you."

Auchinleck's Message

Field Marshall Sir Claude Auchinleck Commander Supreme Headquarters with overriding control of the forces of both India and Pakistan issued the following message to British forces:

> "Nearly 200 years have passed since British soldiers first came to India. There are but few of the many corps and regiments of the British Army which have not played their part in war and in peace in building up what eventually became the Empire of India under the British Crown."

"This Empire of India has now come to an end and its place has been taken by two new member States of the British Commonwealth of Nations, to be known as India and Pakistan. These two new states will be fully independent and responsible for their own defence and for law and order within their own borders. This great change means that there is no longer any need in this country as a whole for units of the British Army or the RAF to form part of the Armed Forces of the two new states."

"During the long sojourn of the British Army in India, it has always served in peace and fought in war alongside its comrades of the Indian Army drawn from all parts of this vast country. This partnership has been a close and glorious one."

"The Royal Air Force also, in the shorter period of its stay in India, has given of its best in war and in peace to raise and shape the RIAF. Both air forces fighting side by side in Burma proved that they too had become true comrades in arms."

"You who are now about to leave these shores, will in your going bring to an end the long and famous story of the British Army in India and the shorter but equally creditable connection of the RAE with this country. You have been worthy representatives of those that have gone before you, and you may go in the knowledge that your comrades of the Indian Army and the RIAF will not forget you or the trials and dangers you have faced together, you for your part, will, I am sure, remember them as great fighters and staunch friends."

Message from Lord Mountbatten

The following message was received from Lord Mountbatten, Governor-General of India:

> "On the occasion of the departure of the final contigent of British troopsfrom India, I send you my warmest thanks for the splendid services you have rendered. I wish you a very happy voyage home and all success in the future."

And thus ended the British rule and its military history in India.

APPENDIX I

The Commanders-in-Chief of "British India"

Name	*Assumed Command*
Major Stringer Lawrence (afterwards Major-General)	27th January 1748.
Colonel John Adlercron	4th April 1754.
Colonel Robert Clive	28th December 1756.
Major John Caillaud	25th February 1760.
Major John Carnac	31st December 1760.
Lieut.-Colonel Eyre Coote	2nd April 1761.
Major Thomas Adams	13th June 1763.
Major John Carnac	15th January 1764.
Major Hector Munro	29th July 1764.
Brigadier-General John Carnac	8th January 1765.
Major-General Robert Lord Clive	13th April 1765 (And Governor).
Colonel Richard Smith	29th January 1767.
Brigadier-General Sir Robert Barker	24th March 1770.
Colonel Alexander Chapman	18th January 1774.
Lieut.-General Sir John Clavering, K.B.	2nd November 1774.
Lieut.-General Sir Eyre Coote, K.B.	25th March 1779.
Lieut.-General Robert Sloper	21st July 1785.
Lieut.-General Charles Earl Cornwallis, K.G.	12th September 1786, (And Governor-General).
Major-General Sir Robert Abercromby, K.B.	28th October 1793.
Lieut.-General Sir Alured Clarke, K.B. (afterwards Field Marshal, G.C.B.).	16th March 1797.
Lieut.-General Gerard Lake (afterwards General and Lord Lake).	13th March 1801.
General Charles Marquis Coruwallis, K.G.	30th July 1805 (And Governor-General).
General Gerard Lord Lake	5th October 1805.
Lieut.-General George Hewitt (afterwards General and Lord).	17th October 1807.
Liet.-General Sir George Nugent (afterwards Field-Marshal).	14th January 1812.
General Francis, Earl of Moira (afterwards Marquis of Hastings).	4th October 1813 (And Governor-General).

Lieut.-General the Hon'ble Sir Edward Paget, G.C.B. (afterwards General).	13th January 1823.
General Shapleton, Lord Combermere, G.C.B. (afterwards Field Marshal).	7th October 1825.
General George, Earl of Dalhousie, G.C.B.	1st January 1830.
General Sir Edward Barnes, G.C.B.	10th January 1832.
General Lord William H.C. Bentinck, G.C.B.	15th October 1833 (And Governor-General).
Lieut.-General the Hon'ble Sir Henry Fane, G.C.B.	5th September 1835.
Major.-General Sir Jasper Nicolls, K.G.B.	7th December 1839
General Sir Hugh Gough, Bart, G.C.B. (afterwards Field-Marshal and Lord Gough).	8th August 1843.
General Sir Charles James Napier, G.C.B.	7th May 1849.'A
General Sir William Maynard Gomm, K.G.B. (afterwards Field Marshal).	6th December 1850.
General the Hon'ble George Anson	23rd January 1856.
Lieut.-General Sir Patrick Grant, K.C.B.	17th June 1857 (Officiating)
General Sir Cohn Campbell, G.C.B. (after-wards Field Marshal and Lord Clyde).	13th August 1857.
General Sir Hugh H. Rose, G.C.B. (afterwards Field Marshal and Lord).	4th June 1860.
General Sir William Rose Mansfield, K.C.B. (afterwards Lord, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.).	23rd March 1865.
General Lord Robert Cornelis Napier of Magdala, G.C.B., G.C.S.I. (afterwards Field Marshal).	9th April 1870.
General Sir Fred. P. Haines, K.C.B. (afterwards Field Marshal, G.C.B.).	10th April 1876.
General Sir Donald M. Stewart, G.C.B., C.I.E. (afterwards Field Marshal).	8th April 1881.

General Sir Fred. S. Roberts, V.C., G.C.B., C.I.E. (afterwards Field Marshal, K.G., K.P.)	28th November 1885
General Sir Geo. S. White, V.C., G.C.I.E., K.C.B. (afterwards Field Marshal G.C.B.).	8th April 1893.
Lieut. General Sir Charles Edward Nairne, K.G.B.	20th March 1898 (Provisional).
General Sir W.S.A. Lockhart, G.C.B., K.C.S.I.	4th November 1898.
General Sir A.P. Palmer, K.C.B., G.C.B.	19th March 1900.
General Viscount Kitchener of Khartoum, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.M.G. (afterwards Earl, Field Marshal, K.G., K.P.)	28th November 1902.
General Sir O'Moore Creagh, V.C., G.C.B.	10th September 1909.
General Sir B. Duff, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., C.I.E.	8th March 1914.
General Sir C.C. Monro, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., K.G.B. (afterwards Lord).	1st October 1916.
General Lord Rawlinson of Trent, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G., A.-D.-C.	21st November 1920.
Field-Marshal Sir William Riddell Birdwood, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O. (afterwards Baron, G.C.M.G.).	6th August 1925.
Field-Marshal Sir Philip Walhouse Chetwode, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., D.S.O. (afterwards Baron, O.M.).	30th November 1930.
General Sir Robert Archibald Cassels, G.C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O. (afterwards G.C.S.I.).	29th November 1935.
General Sir Claude John Eyre Auchinleck, G.C.I.E., C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., O.B.E. (afterwards Field Marshal, G.C.B.).	27th January 1941.
General Sri Archibald Percival Wavell, G.C.B., C.M.G., M.C. (afterwards Viscount, Field Marshal, G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., P.C.).	11th July 1941.
General Sir Alan Fleming Hartley,	17th January 1942.

K.C.I.E., C.B., D.S.O. (afterwards G.C.B., G.C.I.E.)	
General Sir Archibald Percival Wavell, G.C.B., C.M.G., M.C. (second term).	7th March 1942.
General Sir Claude John Eyre Auchinleck, G.C.I.E., C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., O.B.E. (second term).	20th June 1943.

Notes: 1. According to Brigadier H. Bullock, Edward Boscawen, a rear-admiral was the first C-in-C-, a precedent that was repeated in 1946 when a vice-admiral was appointed Dy. C-in-C during Auchinleck's absence in England on duty.

2. C's-in-C who died in India: Lt. Gen. Sir John Clavering died in Calcutta on 30th August, 1777 and buried in South Park Street burial ground; Lt. Gen. Sir Eyre Coote at Madras in 1783; General Cornwallis at Ghazipur on 5th Oct. 1805; General George Anson at Karnal on 27th May, 1857; General Lockhart in Calcutta in 1900; General Rawlinson in Delhi in 1924.

APPENDIX II

Revolutionary Regulations, 1748

(See pages 19, 34 and 195)

"Regulations for the forming, disciplining, and governing a Company of Artillery, for the better managing, and keeping in good order, the Ordnance, Small Arms and Military Stores, Tools, Utensils and other Habiliments of War and for the training up a regular and disciplined corps for the Ordnance Service."

As it is intended to abolish the offices of Gunners, Gunners' Mates, Quarter Gunners and Gun-room Crew, and to consist (sic) in lieu of them a Regular Company of Artillery for the better defence of our settlements in time of danger, and for the training up a Regular and Disciplined Corps for the Ordnance Service, we do hereby order for the more easy attaining this end, that the following Regulations be strictly followed and observed:

Best men for artillery and ordnance service

That the formation of this Company of Artillery shall be set about immediately on receipt of this. In order to complete the Company of Artillery as soon as possible, a sufficient number of young, healthy, able bodied and most sober men, from among the soldiers or others belonging to the other companys, are to be taught exercise of the Artillery, among whom it is recommended to have as many as possible who have been bred to the occupation of smiths, carpenters, or some other trade or business, which may be of use in the service of the Artillery; as also such as can read and write, and seem to have the best capacity to learn the several parts of duty proper for the Ordnance service, and as soon as they shall have made a sufficient progress in the Artillery exercises, they shall be discharged from the companys they belong to, and entered into the Company of Artillery, and promoted in it according to their merit, and that there may be always a supply of men proper to recruit the Company of Artillery. Major Lawrence and the Chief Engineer are to take care that a sufficient number of men, qualified as above as much as possible, be continually instructed, in the Artillery discipline for that purpose, our intention being that the Company of Artillery be always complete, and in case any person admitted into the Company of Artillery misbehaves, so as not to be fit to continue in it, he shall, on the judgment of a Court-martial, be obliged to serve the remainder of his time in the company he was taken from.

Military storekeeper

On abolishing the offices of gunner and others belonging to the gun-room crew, the Governor is to order the Company's storekeeper, or some other proper person among the covenanted servants, to act as military storekeeper to whom the gunner is to deliver up all the ordnance, carriages, arms, powder, shot, shell, tools, instruments, and other stores and habiliments of war under his care, which the military storekeeper is to

receive and take into his charge, and to make an exact inventory of the same.

The military storekeeper is to keep under his care all the small arms and other military weapons, as also all the ammunition, tools, and utensils necessary for the service of the artillery or for the small arms, all gun carriages, ingredients for making fireworks, and in general everything necessary for the service of war, except such parts thereof as it may be proper to be kept under the care of director of the laboratory, of which he is to deliver no part to any person whatsoever without an order of council. On urgent occasions an order from the Governor or the Major or the officer then commanding the companies shall be a sufficient warrant to him.

Laboratory (ammunition factories) set-up

The Director of the Laboratory is to have possession of proper places for the preparing, preserving, and safe keeping, of all necessaries proper for the laboratory, and to have an apartment as near it as may be convenient, that he may have it the more under his inspection and care. He is to be allowed such assistants as may be necessary for the business of the laboratory.

Laboratory and magazine-prohibited areas

No foreigner, whether in our service or not (except such as hath admitted into it by the Court of Directors) nor no Indian, black, or person of a mixed breed, nor any Roman Catholic of what nation soever, shall on any pretence be admitted to set foot in the laboratory or any of the Military magazines, either out of curiosity, or to be employed in them, or to come near them, so as to see what is doing or contained therein, nor shall any such persons have a copy or sight of any accounts or papers relating to any Military stores whatsoever.

Thorough training in military fireworks

That the Director of the Laboratory and his assistant shall diligently, carefully and properly instruct in the whole art of making Military fireworks for real use in every branch, without concealing any part thereof, all Officers belonging to the Artillery, and such Officers and Cadets belonging to the other companys as are willing and are desirous to be instructed, as also such Cadets and Gunners belonging to the Artillery, as have the best disposition to be instructed, and are employed, or intended to be employed in the laboratory, or to be any ways promoted in the service of the Artillery, in which care shall be taken to choose the soberest and most intelligent person, whose fidelity and attachment to the service of the Company can be most relied on, and all persons instruct in the business of the laboratory shall first receive an order of the Governor and Council, Major Lawrence, the Chief Engineer, or, if absent, the Officer Commanding the Companies, to be so instructed, and shall then be personally employed in the actual making and preparing all sorts of fireworks, and for greater

certainty that no part thereof is concealed from them, the Director of the Laboratory is to enter fair into a book, all receipts of compositions, titled with the uses for which they are designed, with the manner of compounding, preparing, fitting and making up all parts of military fireworks.

Artillery exercises

The Officers of the Company of Artillery are to take care to teach all persons belonging to the said Company, in the practice of gunnery in general, as the manner of serving and firing all sorts of pieces of Artillery, whether designed for the throwing of shot, shells, stones, grenades, carcasses or other fireworks. They are to teach them the use and construction of all the instruments used for pointing or levelling great guns or mortars, and to exercise them, at convenient times, in the hitting marks, whether point blank, or at any degree of elevation, together with quick firing, for which a proper quantity of ammunition is to be allowed; they are likewise to instruct them in the making gabions and fascines with the manner to use them in making batteries or breastworks, as also the manner of making intrenchments, whether for defence or approaches, and they are likewise to teach them the manner to mount or dismount cannon or mortars, and to remove them from place to place, at which they are to be exercised at proper times, but so as not to over-fatigue them, or give them a disgust to the service; but the knowledge of this exercise is necessary, as in time of danger no other assistance can be got to do this work.

Dress for the artillery

The Major, with the approbation of the Governor, shall regulate the clothing for the artillery which is to be of blue cloth out of the Company's warehouses with red cuffs and facing and brass buttons with a cap or hat which shall be decided by the Major and paid for by the Company in the same manner as referred in the 22nd and 23rd articles of the Military Regulations. And the said company shall be armed in the manner most suitable to the climate and the nature of their service.

Deserter and Roman Catholic barred

No deserter from any nation whatsoever is to be entertained in the Company of Artillery, not even a British subject who may have once deserted from His Majesty's or the Company's Service, although he may have been pardoned for his desertions, nor any Roman Catholic, and if any person belonging to the Company of Artillery marry a Roman Catholic, or his wife become a Roman Catholic after marriage, such person shall be immediately dismissed from the Company of Artillery, and be obliged to serve the remainder of his time in one of the other companys, or be removed to some other of the Company's settlements to serve it out there, if the Council think fit.

Appendix III

India's Defence Organisation of Today

The Supreme Command of the Armed Forces is vested in the President of India. The responsibility for national defence, however, rests with the Cabinet. All important questions having clearing on defence are decided by the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs which is presided over by the Prime Minister. The Defence Minister is responsible to Parliament for all matters concerning the Defence Services. He is assisted by two Committees known as the Defence Minister's (Plan and Co-ordination) Committee and the Defence Minister's (Production and Supply) Committee. The administrative and operational control of the Armed Forces is exercised by the Ministry of Defence and the three Service Headquarters. The Ministry of Defence acts as the central agency for ensuring a co-ordinated development of the three service for conveying the Government of India's decisions on policy matters to the three Services Headquarters for implementation and for obtaining financial sanction for defence expenditure from Parliament.

Organisation

The three services function under their respective chiefs of staff namely: Chief of the Army Staff, Chief of the Naval Staff, Chief of the Air Staff. Together they meet as the Chiefs of Staff Committee and are collectively the professional military advisers to the Government on important defence matters.

Army

At the Army Headquarters in New Delhi the Chief of the Army Staff is assisted by the Vice Chief of the Army Staff and five other Principal Staff Officers-Deputy of Army Staff, Adjutant General, Quarter Master-General of Master-General Ordnance and Military Secretary and one Head of Branch, Engineer-in-Chief.

The Army is organised into five Commands—Western, Eastern, Northern, Southern and Central—each under a General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the rank of Lieutenant-General. The Commands are divided into Areas, Independent Sub-Areas and Sub-Areas. An Area is commanded by a General Officer Commanding of the rank of Major General and an Independent Sub-Area and Sub-Area by a Brigadier.

The Army consists of a number of arms and services. These are: Infantry, Armoured Corps, Artillery, Corps of Engineers, Corps of Signals, Army Service Corps, Army Ordnance Corps, Army Dental Corps, Army Medical Corps, Corps of Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, Army Education Corps, Remount and Veterinary Corps, Army Postal Service Corps, Corps of Military Police, Intelligence Corps, and Defence Security Corps. The sanctioned strength of all ranks of the Army is 8.38 Lakhs.

Navy

The operational control of the Navy is exercised by the Naval HQs in New Delhi through chain of Commands.

At the HQs, the Chief of the Navy Staff is assisted by five Principal Staff Officers, namely: the Vice-Chief of the Naval Staff, Deputy Chief of the Naval Staff, Chief of Personnel, Chief of Material and Chief of Logistics.

The Navy is organised into three Commands: Western Naval Command under the Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Western Naval Command, Bombay; Eastern Naval Command under the Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief Eastern Naval Command, Visakhapatnam and Southern Naval Area, Cochin.

The Navy has two Fleets—the Western Fleet and the Eastern Fleet. The two Fleets consist of the aircraft-carrier *INS Vikrant*, two cruisers, a number of frigate squadrons, including some of the latest types of anti-submarine and anti-aircraft frigates, a squadron of anti-submarine patrol vessels, one mine-sweeping squadron conventional type submarine, a submarine depot ship and fast boats carrying surface-to-surface guided missiles. A Squadron of Sea-King helicopters augments the air component of the aircraft-carrier *INS Vikrant*. Besides, there are some survey ships, a fleet tanker and a number of auxiliary craft. The survey unit of the Navy Carriers out survey of India's coast and approaches to the harbours. A new organisation under the Naval Officer Incharge, Andamans and Nicobar is functioning at Port Blair.

Air Force

The Indian Air Force is organised into five Commands and an Independent Operational Group. These are Western Air Command, Central Air Command, Eastern Air Command, Training Command, Maintenance Command and No. 1 (Opl.) Group.

At the Air Headquarters in New Delhi, the Chief of the Air Staff is assisted by four Principal Staff Officers, namely, Vice-Chief of the Air Staff, Deputy Chief of the Air Staff, Air Officer-in-Charge Administration and Air Officer-in-Charge Maintenance. Each of them controls a group of Directorates.

The Air Force fleet, which is made up of 45 Squadrons, consists of a variety of fighter, fighter bomber, fighter interceptor bomber, transport and maritime reconnaissance aircraft. Among the fighter aircraft are Su-7s Hunters, Gnats, MiG-21s and HF-24s. Canberras comprise the bomber fleet. The transport fleet consists of AN-12s, IL-14s, Dakotas, Fairchild Packets, Caribous, Otters, TU-124s and India-built HS-748s. Super Constellations are deployed for maritime reconnaissance. Helicopters in use are MI-4s, MI-8s and Alouettes, the last being built in India. India-built HT-2 and HJT-16 (Kiran), T6G Texan, Dakotas and Vampires are used for training purposes.

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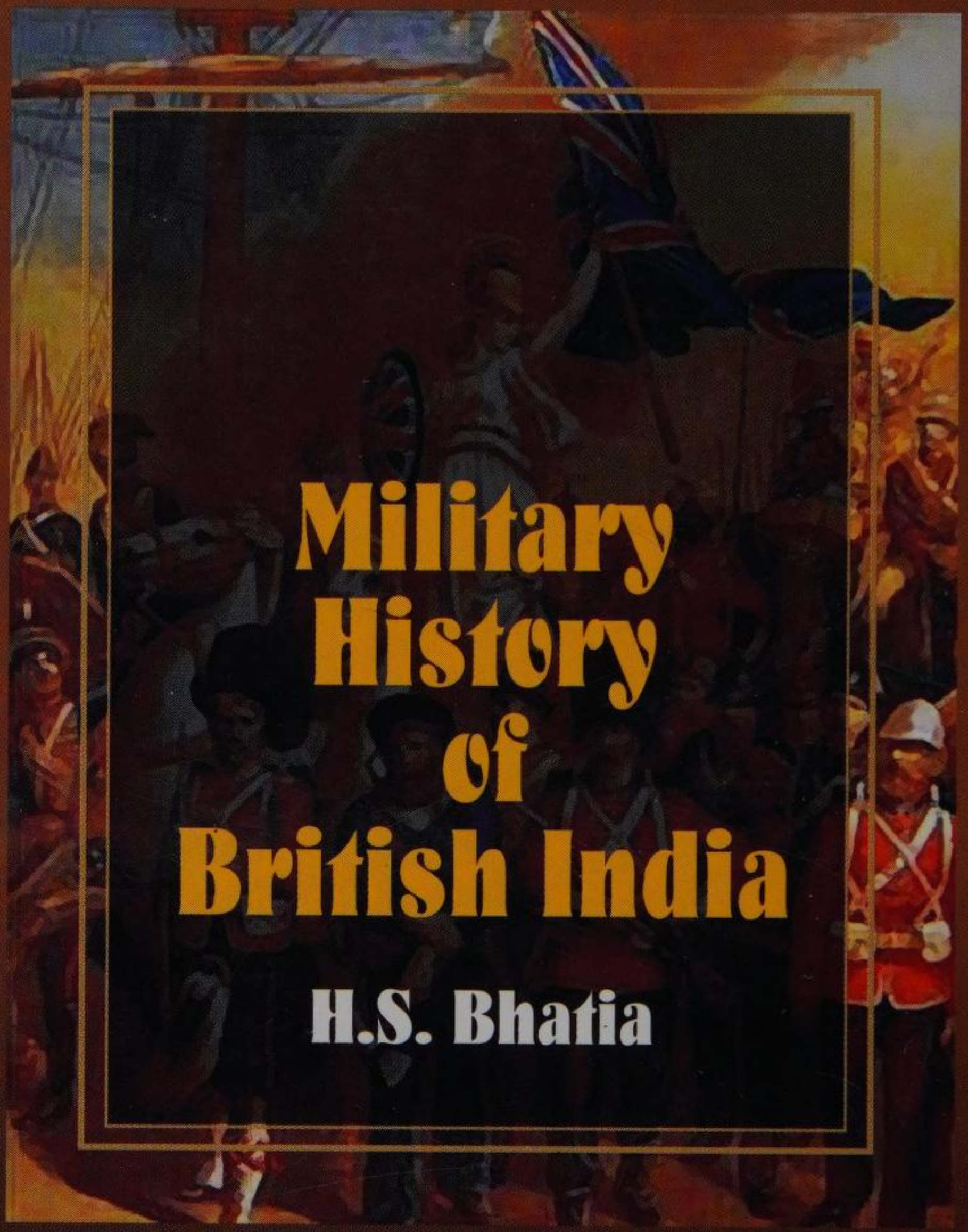

Military History of British India

H.S. Bhatia

Highlights of this book:

- Key to Important Terms
- Chronology of Important Events
- Historical Background
- Presidency Armies
- India: Its Heritage and its Army
- European and Native Troops
- The Military Adventures
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